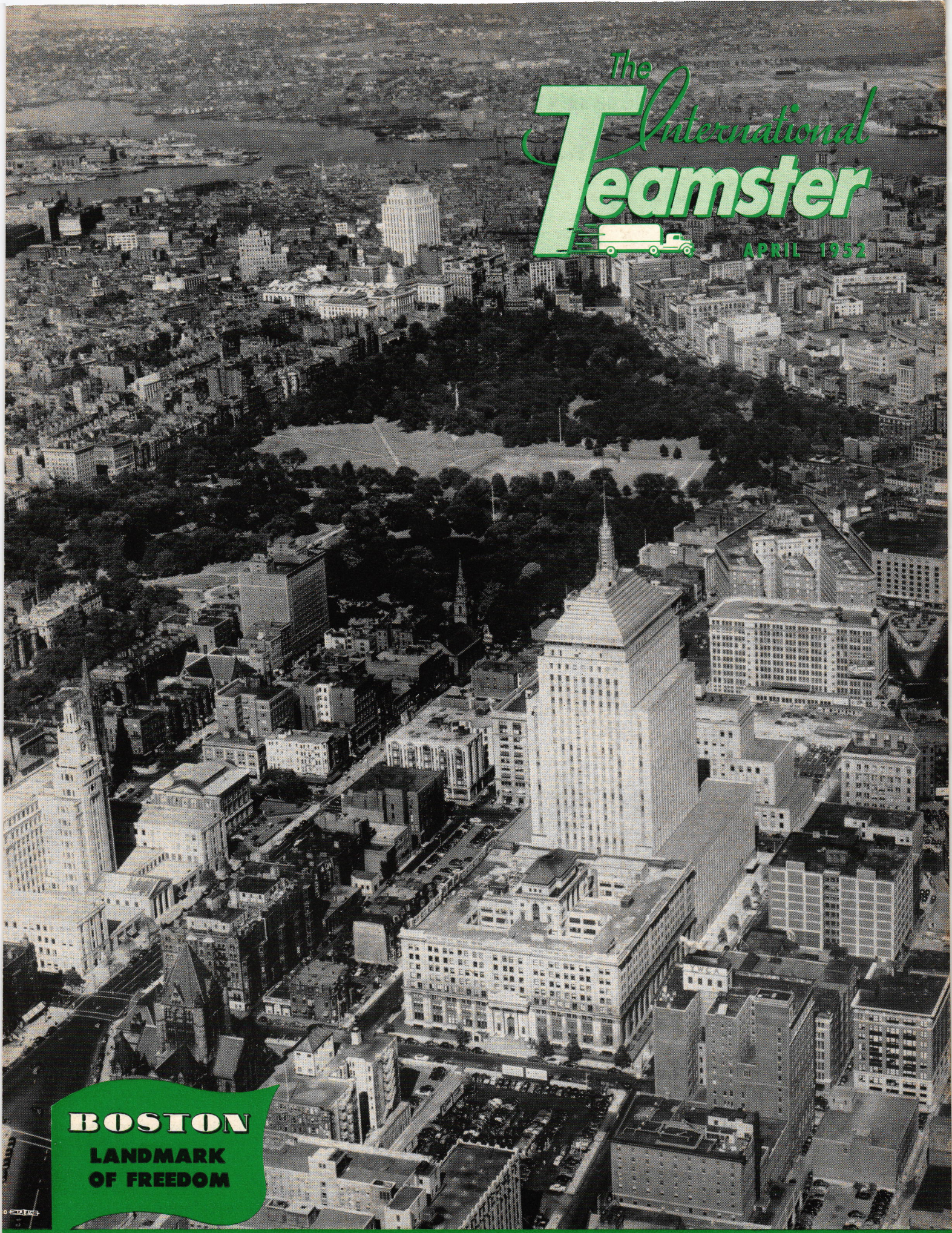


The International Teamster

APRIL 1952

BOSTON
LANDMARK OF FREEDOM

SCENE OF THE 1952 UNION INDUSTRIES SHOW—MAY 17-24

FIFTY YEARS AGO IN OUR MAGAZINE

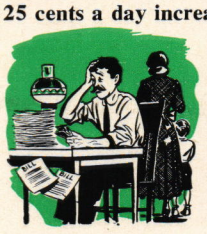
(From Teamsters' Magazine, April, 1902)

"MANY STRIKES — During the long winter months of the past season of 1901-02 while the 'weather man' was prognosticating the different kinds of weather he would have in store for us mortals here below, the teamsters in many parts of the country were quietly lining up their forces, holding revival meetings, and preparing contracts to present to their employers. While the past winter was unusually favorable to the teaming industry, yet nevertheless, it is a fact, that those who were fortunate enough to have work, were compelled to put in long hours and in hundreds of instances at a smaller rate of pay than should be paid for a fair day's work. This being the case, and the enforced idleness of thousands of teamsters who would otherwise have been at work, has fully warranted that some steps should be taken to remedy the evil. The time having arrived that the contracts should be presented, committees were appointed, the employers were visited and given plenty of time to consider well. In a great many places the unions found no opposition at all and are now enjoying the fruits of their labor, while in others bitter fights have resulted, a number having been reported to headquarters during the last few weeks."

"SLEEP WITH YOUR CLOTHES ON.—The Rockwood Manufacturing Co., of Indianapolis, has appealed to the United States court for protection for its employees against the iron molders who have been on strike for several weeks past. The 'scabs' who took the strikers' places complained to Judge Baker, that they were in fear of the strikers doing them great bodily harm, whereupon Judge Baker advised the plaintiff to change the bill of complaint to include a prayer for damages, saying that it did not matter if they were not property holders, that if judgment was secured, and the men were caught in bed, that officers could take away their clothing. By this 'hand-out' insolvency will rest with union men as long as they live, for such judgment will never be paid. The judge evidently has an extra pair of pants stored away in the attic."



"One of the 1,700 strikers in the South Bend, Ind., factory of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, in writing to the 'Gas Belt Labor News,' states that the average pay of skilled mechanics is from $1.25 to $1.35 per day at this plant. The strikers demand 25 cents a day increase. One member of the union has a wife and five children. He does not drink, chew nor smoke (if he did swear a little he could not be blamed). His house rent is six dollars a month and his living expenses are cut to the lowest possible figure, yet the grand total foots up to the sum of $30.41. His monthly wages run as high as $32.40, leaving a balance of $1.99 to buy clothing for seven with, and to buy medicine, to pay the doctor, the preacher and the barber. Of course, in a case of this kind he is not expected to contribute very heavily to the sewing circle for the benefit of the pastor's wife or to the foreign missionary fund, still the solicitors for these very worthy enterprises think it's 'just awful' if they are refused."



"PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—Three members of the Teamsters' Union Local 300, were discharged for refusing to take the places of striking longshoremen, whereupon all drivers working for the firm of J. A. and A. W. Walker went out in sympathy for their brother members; latest reports are they are still out."

The following from the address of the Rev. Dr. McKim, of the Church of Epiphany, Washington, before the New York Chapter of the Church Association for the advancement of the interests of labor, is interesting:

"I do not believe that one out of fifty in the church really studies these social problems. What does the average man in our churches know of the great principles of cooperation or the history of labor organizations in this country? Consider what organized labor has done to improve the conditions of the workingmen. Seventy or eighty years ago the condition of laborers in factories was far worse than the condition of the slaves in the south. I have lived in the south and know that the material condition of the slaves was better. In 1832-33, in many of the mills of this country, the women and children had to go to work at 4:30 o'clock in the morning and continued at work 14 or 15 hours."

Touching what trades-unions have done to abolish such industrial evils, Dr. McKim added:

"Labor organizations have done a splendid work, and I honor them. They have been lifting up the masses of the people, who are not contented any more. Their ambition is aroused to be men and women, and their song is: 'Eight hours for work; eight hours for sleep, and eight hours to do what we will.' I do not say whether in the present conditions of labor the eight-hour day is always attainable; but all these things are to be judged by the effect they have on manhood and womanhood. They want some time to look away from their work out on the great world, and to breathe the pure air of heaven; they want some time for their families; and, therefore, their discontent is healthful."

"QUINCY, ILL. — Team Drivers' Union No. 39, has been engaged in a fierce battle since April 1. International President Jasper Clark went to their assistance about two weeks ago. Letters from the local and President Clark say about 100 men are working out of 175 who were affected. The strikers have the sympathy of all the labor unions in the city, and the public in general. They gave a large parade, headed by a platoon of the city's police. Several bands of music accompanied the procession, and men and women of all walks of life joined in to swell their ranks. It is expected that the strike will be won within another week."



"MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—On April 1, the General Teamsters' Union No. 215, of Minneapolis, went out on strike to enforce the eight-hour day; 120 teamsters and teams were involved. Reports just received state that the union has won out, thereby establishing the eight-hour day and their wage-scale of $3.50 and 50 cents per hour for overtime. Brother John Geary, of Local No. 120, of St. Paul, was in charge."

The International Teamster

DANIEL J. TOBIN • *Editor*

Vol. 49 APRIL, 1952 No. 4

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1952 Truck Check

The 1952 Teamsters' Truck Check was set by the National Over-the-Road Conference in general session in Chicago last month. The time for the check this year is from midnight May 11 until midnight May 16.

Details on the Truck Check appear on pages 2 and 3 of this issue. Local unions and joint councils will receive report cards, badges, checking information and full instruction as soon as the material can be produced. This material will be sent out as soon as it is ready and will be in the hands of locals and joint councils in plenty of time for adequate preparation for the 1952 check.

Various phases of over-the-road and related problems were discussed at the series of Chicago meetings. A report of these sessions appears in stories beginning on page 10.

A report of the work of the policy committees which met also in Chicago will appear in the May issue of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER.

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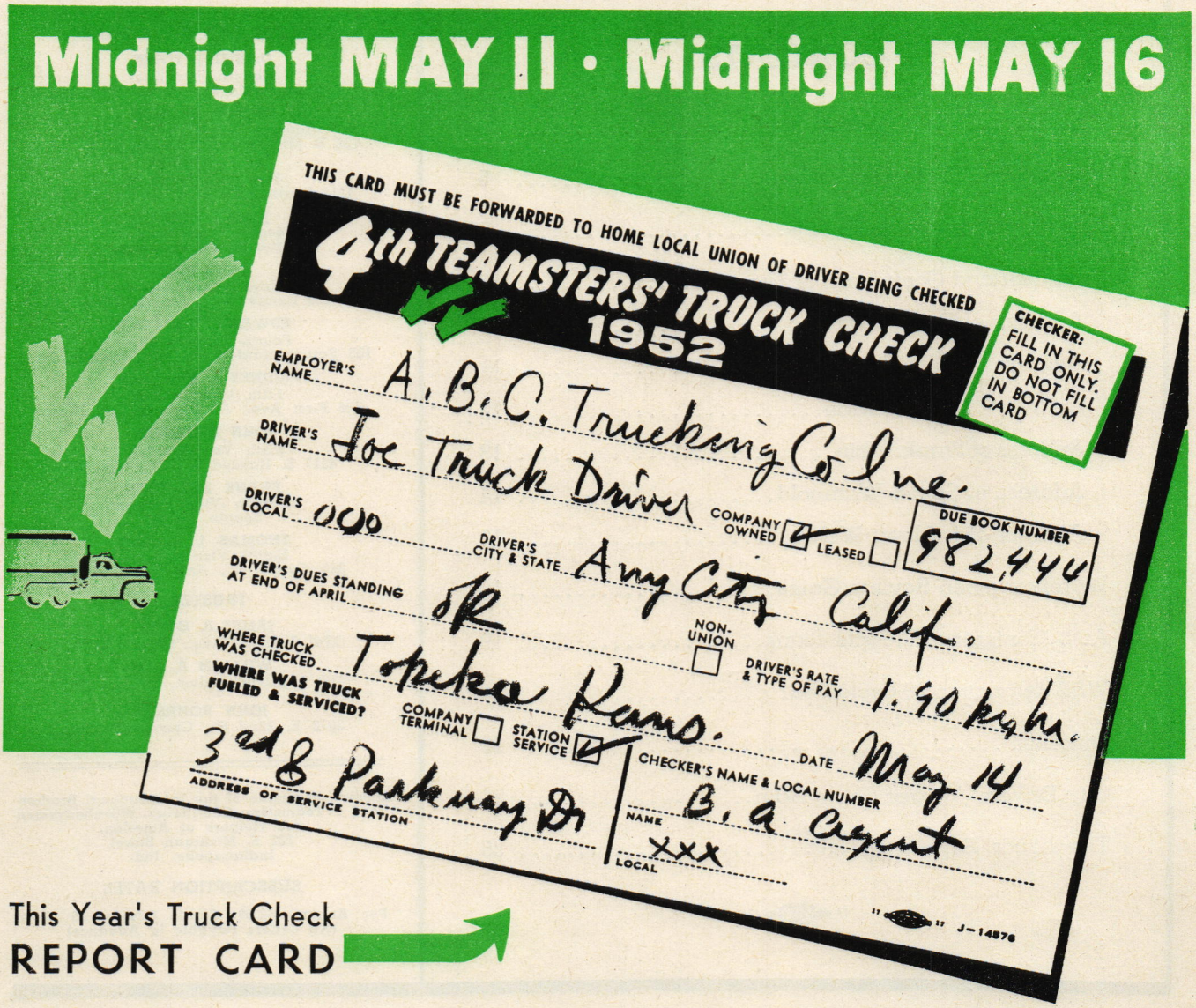
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1952 4th TEAMSTERS' TRUCK CHECK

Midnight MAY 11 · Midnight MAY 16



This Year's Truck Check
REPORT CARD



THE 1952 Teamsters' National Truck Check will be conducted from midnight Sunday, May 11, to midnight Friday, May 16.

The time of the 1952 truck check was formally set by the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference which met in Chicago March 25.

Preparations were started immediately by the National Conference which will enlist the assistance of all other trade divisions and all international organizers for the most intensive road check yet held. More than 500 Teamsters met in Chicago during the week of March 24 for a series of policy and general trade division meetings. Details of these meetings in addition to the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference appear elsewhere in this issue of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER.

All Sections Represented

Eighty members of the policy committee of the Over-the-Road Conference met on March 24 at the Palmer House to make detailed plans and recommendations for general conference consideration scheduled for the following day. All sections of the country were represented.

Efforts are being made to streamline and "tighten up" procedure in the Teamsters' Truck Check in order to insure the greatest possible efficiency. Toward this goal the policy committee made revisions of the checker's report card which will enable checkers to elicit requested information in shorter time thereby effecting a saving in time both of the checker and the driver being checked.

Changes in the card will be noted in the sample filled-in illustration on this page. Attention is especially invited to the following:

1. A new element is added. After the driver's name blank appear the words "Leased" and "Company-owned" with boxes in which the checker can note the status of equipment.

2. The question on fueling and servicing is revised and reads: "Where was truck fueled and serviced?" and boxes are given in which checker can note either at "Company Terminal" or "Service Station." There is provided a line for the location of the service station if that box is checked.

3. The 1952 card will provide more space for writing answers due to a revision on the color name panel near the top of the card. This color panel, which was blue and red last year, will be narrower this year. The over-all color scheme will be different for 1952.

Report Card Format Changed

Following a half day's discussion of card changes and general procedures by the policy committee, Executive Vice-President Dave Beck, chairman of the meeting, named a subcommittee to develop detailed recommendations for formal action. He named James Hoffa, a trustee of the International, committee chairman, and

this group met following the morning session and formulated specific recommendations. These were submitted by Mr. Hoffa in the afternoon and adopted as the formal recommendations of the policy committee. So favorably received were the recommendations on the following day that immediately following Chairman Hoffa's report, the plans and procedures as offered were unanimously adopted by the entire Over-the-Road Conference.

In addition to the checker's card revision, other important steps were taken toward improving and streamlining the 1952 operation. The truck windshield sticker will be drastically changed. The new sticker will be die-cut in the shape of a truck and printed thereon will be the words, "1952 Teamsters' Truck Check," and a large figure "4" identifying the 1952 campaign as the fourth, will appear. These changes are made in order that the sticker cannot be used for any other trade division purpose or for a period beyond the 1952 truck check.

Copy For Each Checker

At the suggestion of several members of the conference representing various parts of the country, enough letters of instruction will be sent to local unions and joint councils to provide every checker with his own individual copy. Heretofore the supply was limited to local union and joint council officers. Instructions had to be relayed verbally in local or council meetings. It was emphasized this year, however, that it is of the utmost importance for local unions and joint councils to hold full and complete preparatory and briefing meetings before the truck check opens. These meetings are essential, it was repeatedly emphasized in the conference discussion, in order that all checkers can be fully advised as to their duties and responsibilities under the authorized checking procedures.

All Divisions Should Help

Vice President Beck in his comments on the 1952 check stressed the importance to the entire International Brotherhood of Teamsters of full mobilization of manpower of *all* trade divisions to aid the truck check. He pointed out the importance of a strong basic Over-the-Road Conference and said that it could be strengthened and kept strong by progressive and complete action by the assistance of all trade division personnel. He said that it was to the trucking unions toward which any trade division group first turned when they needed economic assistance. The truck check, he concluded, was a device whereby all trade divisions could help provide "insurance" for themselves.

Mr. Beck also informed the conference that he had invited all International Union organizers to Chicago in order that their aid could be enlisted to all trade divisions, but most particularly toward the annual Teamsters' Truck Check of the Over-the-Road Conference.

Policy Committee Members Represent all Sections of Nation



PLAN FOURTH TRUCK CHECK—Eighty members of the policy committee of the National Over-the-Road Conference representing all sections of the nation, mapped plans for the fourth annual Teamsters' truck checking campaign.

Voters Want Fresh Leadership

Results of New Hampshire Primary Indicate Desire for 'New Faces'; Taft's 'Old Guardism' Repudiated in Balloting

by DANIEL J. TOBIN
General President

WHAT do the New Hampshire primary election results mean?

The public by now probably is tired of the many political analysts and professional politicians making statements about the New Hampshire primary. I don't intend to burden the members with a long analysis of the election, for I think enough has been written and said about the results and we should go on to other things and other elections.

Last month I wrote in THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER some observations about politics and politicians. In that article I pointed out the fact that Senator Estes Kefauver is a fine man and appears to have the abilities and qualifications for the high office of President of the United States. That was an opinion written after I had had an opportunity to meet the Senator, talk with him and in general to "size him up," so to speak.

Well, apparently the opinion I expressed in THE TEAMSTER last month was shared by a very large number of Democratic voters in New Hampshire because they favored him over President Truman. He won not only all the delegates to the party's national convention, but he won the so-called popularity preference over President Truman.

What does this mean? I'm afraid it means that Mr. Truman does not have the political pulling power even among Democrats that his supporters have been saying he has. Maybe this great belief that Truman could win hands down among the Democrats is after all a myth and got shot full of holes by the popularity of the tall Tennesseean in New Hampshire.

Mr. Truman had some able campaigners up in New Hampshire and they worked hard. They even thought they had labor all sewed up, but that, too, apparently was a myth. Laboring people have a way of being able to look at a situation and make the right choice.

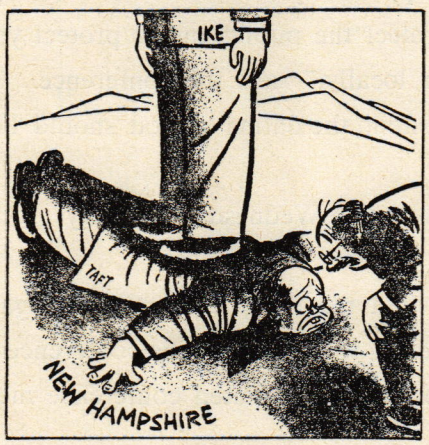
The people of New Hampshire favored what they know Senator Kefauver stands for. He has been a crusader for clean government and decency in public office. He made a sensational record in his series of crime investigations. Many people who never heard of him before know of him as a crime buster from seeing him on television. The fact is that Kefauver is a solid citizen and a fine public servant and was so known in Washington long before he got on television. In fact, Kefauver was known as a fine, honest and upstanding statesman even before he got into the United States Senate.

No Political Novice

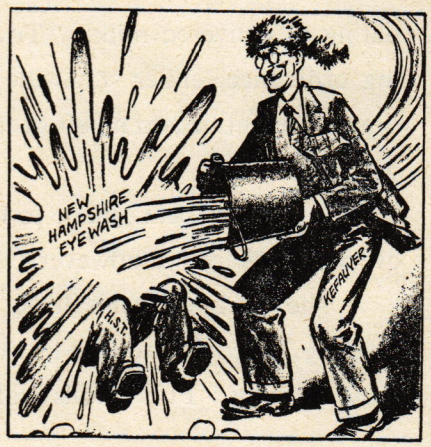
Kefauver made an extraordinary campaign in Tennessee when he beat the Boss Crump machine. The people in that state had a choice and they chose Kefauver over what they apparently thought was the machine-ridden candidate opposing him. So this man Kefauver is no newcomer when it comes to political campaigning. And he proved he can campaign in New Hampshire.

I think that the Kefauver upset over Truman means that the public wants a change in the White House —even the Democrats want a change. The people want a man who has a reputation for going into corruption and after the crooks—without delay or shillyshallying. Even the campaigning of a man like former Senator Scott Lucas couldn't stem the Kefauver popularity in New Hampshire, nor could former Navy Secretary John L. Sullivan. The people turned a deaf ear to these men.

The people trust a man who has a fine record and is willing to speak out for honesty regardless of where the chips fall. It will be interesting



Herblock in the *Washington Post*
"Now do you know where he stands?"



Jensen in the *Chicago Daily News*
"Perhaps he can see his future now."

to see how Senator Kefauver does in other primaries being held soon.

Some of the same reasons why the Democrats voted for Kefauver might be assigned as reasons why the Republicans repudiated Senator Robert A. Taft and favored General Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Republicans of New Hampshire apparently didn't take seriously the carefully cultivated title of "Mr. Republican." The Republicans have tired of some of the old faces, including Mr. Taft's, and want a change. Eisenhower like Kefauver, represents something new in Presidential politics. Ike is aggressive and has a record in military administration which Republicans favored over Taft's old-guardism.

It looks as if both major parties want a real change from the old names, old faces and old politicians. This is going to be an interesting election year—and we all have a box seat at the exciting spectacle which turns up every four years.

Regardless of who is selected as party standard-bearers, we as American citizens can be proud of an election system which permits us to speak and talk as we please. We are not told to vote for one state-selected candidate named by a totalitarian dictator. We do have a choice. And since we do have a choice, we all should exert ourselves and see that we are all registered so we can vote and exercise this choice. Freedom and democracy have imposed a responsibility on us—a responsibility which none should shirk.

Leading Candidates in Labor Areas

Senator Estes Kefauver fared well in the labor centers in the recent New Hampshire primary as the figures from the industrial centers below indicate. The Democrats also fared better than the Republicans in the same centers.

	REPUBLICANS		DEMOCRATS	
Centers	Taft	Eisenhower	Truman	Kefauver
Berlin	333	933	1,115	1,200
Dover	826	900	749	384
Manchester	4,614	3,746	5,415	5,894
Nashua	1,307	1,369	874	1,996
Portsmouth	804	1,179	225	295
Rochester	738	900	173	277
Somersworth	126	149	762	563
Total	8,748	9,176	9,313	10,609

Warning for Dairy Locals

Dairy drivers' unions are given a special warning and caution on the Sunday delivery question by the Mid-States-East Coast Dairy Conference.

The conference in its warning points out that most large cities which are unionized have a five-day week for seven-day delivery, an operation which is working satisfactorily. Unions are warned against employer propaganda which is trying to sell them on "no Sunday delivery" policy. The propaganda drive is coming at the contract renewal period in many parts of the country.

Locals are urged to check carefully before signing any agreement eliminating Sunday delivery. Certain cities were cited which had abolished Sunday delivery and then reinstated it.

The second word of caution passed by the Mid-States-East Coast Dairy Conference concerns dating of delivered milk. "To protect the public and to protect your jobs, you should have a dating ordinance, either statewide or locally," says the conference. A dating ordinance is a protection to the public and no effort to extend the dating period should be tolerated, said the conference warning.

Efforts are being made to have a "no Wednesday delivery" in Toronto, Can. (They have an every day delivery, however.)

The Toronto locals have invited the dairy conference delegates to be their guests in the June meeting, scheduled for the last week in the month. The conference urges a full representation at the June meeting. Full details will be sent to affiliated conference members.

Fair Play Asked in Mail Bids

Teamsters Back Legislation to Require Post Office Department to Demand Prevailing Wage Scales in Mail Hauling Contracts

by DAVE BECK
Executive Vice President

THE battle for fair play in Post Office mail hauling contracts is on in earnest and we will not stop until the fight is won. Legislation has been introduced in Congress to compel prevailing wages—and for this legislation we must fight for enactment in this Congress. Delay may be fatal!

The United States Post Office Department is letting contracts for trucking the mail in a manner which is jeopardizing wages, hours and working conditions which have been won through long years of collective bargaining on the part of the Teamsters' Union. We will not stand idly by and watch these wages and standards wrecked on the shoals of bureaucratic indifference and shortsightedness.

Bids Wide Open

Here are the developments in the situation:

First of all, the Teamsters were aroused last month when advertisements for bids were made public on some western routes. These routes were in addition to some 200 which had already been put into force in all parts of the United States. These bids were what might be called "wide open" and here is what they did and did not do:

—they did not require the payment of prevailing wages;

—they placed a performance bond requirement so low that anyone with $100 could buy a bond and be an eligible bidder. This would mean that any fly-by-night gypsy with some rolling stock could underbid the legitimate operator who has built up his business through the years of giving his community good service;

—there is no provision for safe hauling and secure performance in the important duties of mail transportation;

—there is no requirement for adequate insurance to protect the public interest in the mail;

—the only apparent standard is a low bid;

—there is no guarantee of protection for the public in case of accident—the Government cannot be sued without its permission;

—the general practice and standards of progress in the trucking business is completely ignored.

Following the steps taken by the Post Office Department in the Northwest for bids, the Teamsters' Union went into action and results are beginning to pile up. Protests have been filed against the practice of the Post Office Department in letting bids with no regard to safety, wage levels or standards or conditions of work. We made investigations and have found that some operators are working their men—or themselves—long hours, far over the standard for health and safety. We found that if these practices are carried out, the progress we have made over the last 50 years would be broken down and perhaps wrecked completely.

Efforts are being made to register the protest of the Teamsters with Congress. Teamster joint councils and locals throughout the country have been alerted on this problem. The topic of mail contracts was given a top priority attention at the recent Chicago conference of trade divisions.

My office found that there is nothing in the law that prevents the Post Office from advertising for bids for contracts which do not pay the prevailing wages. This is against the custom and precedent of the other activities of the Federal Government. The building and construction trades have built up protections in the Department of Labor through statutory guarantees of the prevailing wage under the Davis-Bacon Act. This law has been on the books for years and is an accepted part of our labor-management relations.

The Government also protects labor advances in the manufacturing field through the Walsh-Healy Act. In other words, if you do business with the Government as a manufacturer or if you are engaged in building for the Government, you must comply with prevailing wage standards. Why should there be an opportunity to depart from these precedents in the motor transportation field?

I have talked with Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington state. He is a member of the Judiciary and of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce committees, two of the most important in the Senate. He is one of the staunchest friends labor has in the United States Congress. I also talked with Congressman Hugh B. Mitchell who represents the Seattle, Wash., district in Congress. These men are two outstanding leaders in this Congress and Mitchell is on the powerful House Rules Committee which calls the turn on what bills can and what cannot get the green light for consideration by the House.

These men and others, including

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 2830

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 10 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 25), 1952

Mr. MAGNUSON introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

A BILL

To require the payment of prevailing wage rates to employees of contractors under contracts with the Post Office Department for transportation of mail by motor vehicle.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) every contract for the carrying of mail by motor vehicle, hereafter entered into by the Postmaster General, shall contain a provision requiring the contractor to pay to each of his employees, the principal part of whose duties consist of work in connection with the performance of such contract, compensation at rates not less than the prevailing rates being paid in the area for work of the same or a similar nature; and no such contract now in effect shall be renewed

2

by the Postmaster General unless it is amended so as to include such a provision.

(b) Every such contract shall contain the further provision that in the event it is found by the Postmaster General that any such employee is being paid at a rate of compensation less than the rate required by the provision referred to in subsection (a) he may cancel the contract by giving notice thereof in writing to the contractor, and such contractor and his sureties shall be liable to the Government for any excess costs incurred by the Government as a result of such cancellation.

(c) Any employee with respect to whom there has been a failure to comply with a provision inserted in a contract pursuant to subsection (a) shall have a right of action against the contractor and his sureties to recover the difference between the compensation paid to him and the compensation required to be paid under such provision, and it shall be no defense that such employee accepted or agreed to accept compensation at a lesser rate or that he voluntarily refunded any part thereof. Suit thereon may, regardless of the amount in controversy, be brought in any United States district court, or may be brought in any State or Territorial court of competent jurisdiction. Any such suit shall be commenced within one year after the cause of action shall have arisen.

Congressman Henry M. Jackson of Washington state, immediately went to bat to remedy what they saw was an injustice. Congressman John Shelley of California is another friend of labor who introduced a bill to bring justice into the mail hauling contract procedure. They investigated directly with the office of John M. Redding, Assistant Postmaster General in charge of transportation. Many of our members who were present at the 1951 Chicago trade division conferences may recall Mr. Redding's address on mail contracts at the outset of the program of trucking the mail.

Following a careful study of the problem and investigation with the Post Office Department, each of these three members of Congress introduced bills, Senator Magnuson in the Senate and Representatives Mitchell and Jackson in the House. These bills are in the main identical in meaning, significance and wording. So important is this legislation that there is introduced in connection with these comments the full text of the bill, S. 2830 as introduced by Senator Magnuson in the Senate. I urge everyone to read this bill carefully. The Shelley bill varies slightly from the other three.

The important part of this legislation—the real heart of it will be found in these lines:

". . . every contract for the carrying of mail by motor vehicle hereafter entered into by the Postmaster General, shall contain a provision requiring the contractor to pay to each of his employees, the principal part of whose duties consists of work in connection with the performance of such contract, compensation at rates not less than the prevailing rates being paid in the area for work of the same or similar nature."

The Senate bill was immediately referred to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and

← **Senator Magnuson's bill would require payment of "prevailing wage" in mail-hauling contracts.**

the Mitchell and Jackson bills went to the House Post Office Committee. These bills can die a natural death in the committee unless we do something about them. The Teamsters are determined that they shall not die, but that they will be reported out and acted upon in this Congress!

We want fair play for truckers. We can get fair play only by fighting for it. Legislation is necessary. Without a change in the law we face the prospect of seeing truck wages and conditions wrecked.

I was gratified at the reaction shown in Chicago when this problem was discussed. I want every Teamster local in the United States to constitute itself a legislative committee to help get this legislation through Congress. The fight for the legislation is on—we must not falter. Faltering means failure—we must not fail—we must fight!

Senator Hits 'Penny-Pinching'

Washington Senator Says Post Office Policy Threatens Wage Levels and Standard of Living

SENATOR Warren Magnuson (Dem., Wash.), one of the great liberals of the present Congress, spoke out unmistakably in behalf of the Teamsters in his protest to the Postmaster General on the trucking contracts.

Magnuson said he was for economy but . . . "I am not in favor of a penny-pinching policy which threatens wage levels and the American standard of living. Through the failure to require bids incorporating prevailing wages in the area, the Department is opening the door to wage cuts and the possibility of wrecking the standards of progress which have been laboriously built up through many years of successful collective bargaining relations."

The Senator from Washington said the mail hauling matter had come to his attention through advice from Dave Beck, Executive Vice President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL). He said he had been advised that ". . . if the present procedure, which apparently is in operation is followed, we can expect serious inroads on wage levels and working standards in the Northwest and this, of course, will affect drivers in all parts of the country."

Mr. Magnuson closed his detailed protest by saying, "I do not know how closely bound you are in accepting the lowest bids, but I sincerely trust that there is latitude in the law sufficient to permit your Department to avoid deleterious wage-cutting, standards-wrecking practices. I believe the position of the Teamsters to be correct in this situation and, if the law in fact is of such nature that wages and conditions cannot be protected, I would like to see steps taken immediately to change the law and I will be among the first to sponsor legislation to that effect."

Immediately thereafter Senator Magnuson introduced S. 2830.

Motor Transport Rolls With Civil Defense Show

The mobility of motor transport proved decisive when the Federal Civil Defense Administration made plans to show the nation's citizens its story. "Alert America" is on tour on a nation-wide exhibit to portray the problems and needs of civilian defense.

This travelling exposition consists of 10 tractors and 10 semi-trailers painted red, white and blue. In each city the caravan holds a parade in the old-time circus tradition.

The exhibit has 13 units, including some three-dimensional scenes illustrating atomic power, incendiary bombs, biological, chemical and psychological warfare, sabotage, etc.

Telegram Alerts Joint Councils

Executive Vice President Dave Beck alerted Teamster Joint Councils on the seriousness of the Post Office Department bidding system in mail hauling contracts. The following telegram was sent by Mr. Beck to joint councils:

"The Post Office Department has advertised for bids all over the United States for mail runs by trucks and in its specifications makes no reference to the going wage scales or conditions in the trucking industry in the area. Since the department is contracting for truck delivery of mail on all runs under 250 miles throughout the nation such procedure can definitely be a great factor in wrecking the capital investment of the trucking industry and destroying its fair competitive status and bringing irreparable injury to wages, hours and conditions of employment that have been developed for Labor in the various sections of the United States.

"It is the unanimous decision of the Policy Committee of the Western Conference of Teamsters that we make this a matter of International Union recognition and to this end we are wiring every Joint Council in the United States, asking them to fire protests immediately by wire and mail and to call on their congressmen and senators regardless of party affiliations.

"We will bring this matter to discussion at our National Conference in Chicago on March 25.

"In the interval I ask every Joint Council immediately to appoint a committee to investigate and without fail to wire protests today to their congressional delegation. Every effort also should be made to call the attention of the businessmen of this country to this vicious action of the Post Office Department in this Administration.

"Dave Beck,
"Executive Vice President,
"International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

Over-the-Road Conference Is Success; 500 Delegates Attend

Speakers at National Meeting in Chicago Spotlight Problems, Point Way to Solutions

THE International Brotherhood of Teamsters must look ahead and take appropriate action to meet the changing conditions of industry, Executive Vice-President Dave Beck told more than 500 delegates to the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference in Chicago, Ill., March 25. Mr. Beck spoke at a meeting of the trucking conference to which were invited delegates who were in Chicago to attend a series of policy and general trade division meetings at the Palmer House during the week of March 24.

Beck used the plans for the fourth annual Teamsters' Truck Check as the basis for his discussion of the need for the union to adapt its methods of operation to the changing demands of industry. He stressed the importance of trucking as the basic portion of the Teamster movement and said that it was important that this phase of the work be administered on a national basis.

The speaker traced the development of over-the-road trucking from the days of the horse-drawn vehicle. He said that in the horse and buggy days the Teamster operation was on a local basis primarily, but as the motor age developed trucks began moving not only from town to town, but across the United States. This development led to the creation of area-wide conferences and eventually to the organization of national trade divisions.

In the growth and development of the divisions, Beck said that the question of autonomy had often been raised. He emphasized the importance of guaranteeing autonomy to local unions and joint councils and said that the trade division or conference method of operation had not been and would never be arbitrarily forced onto unions and joint councils. He said the only way the new method would succeed would be by those advocating it to "sell" the method and to convince their fellow unionists that it is the method needed to meet the demands of the times. The speaker also pointed out that local unions have the right to delegate their autonomy to state or area-wide organizations which can speak for them. This delegation of authority, he said, had proved useful and important particularly in such matters as welfare and insurance plans where maximum benefits can be derived by an increase of area coverage.



'. . . we must look down that road ahead and keep pace with changing conditions in industry.'

DAVE BECK
Executive Vice President

Control of key channels of distribution is basic to continued success of the Teamster movement, the Executive Vice-President said. He gave several illustrations showing the strategic economic value of transport media to various sections of the country.

In looking toward the future and preparing for the days ahead, Mr. Beck made a special appeal to the delegates to have the local unions develop personnel leadership at the local level.

"We must look ahead and develop young men who can do a real job for the local unions. The International will recruit its personnel from the best of the local unions, but unless the locals develop leadership and personnel, the time might come when they face a bankruptcy of leadership and this would be tragic for the Teamsters."

The Teamsters must always be vigilant in the protection of its advances and of its jurisdiction, the official said, and he referred specifically to the current difficulties with the Post Office Department over mail trucking contracts. He

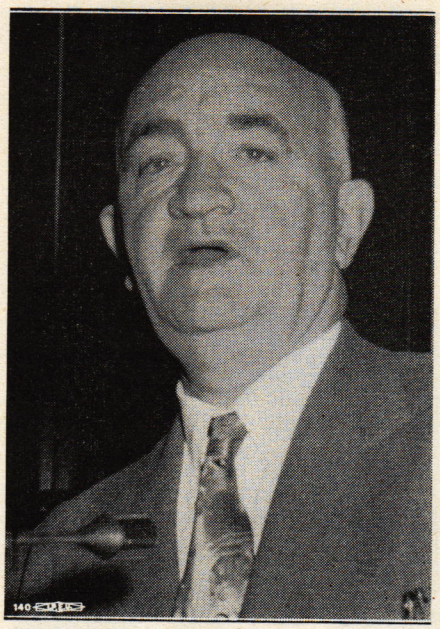
recalled the address made by Assistant Postmaster General, John M. Redding, to a Teamster conference in Chicago last April and said he had promised Redding Teamster cooperation.

"But," said Beck, "we are not going to stand idly by and see our gains and advances of the last 50 years wrecked. We will use our economic strength if necessary to protect our gains."

He said the Post Office Department has no right to have cargo carried in violation of Interstate Commerce Commission regulations. He said the Post Office situation was an illustration of the type of challenge which demanded a strong union and aggressive action. He told the delegates he had named a special committee which would report on the postal situation. (A report on this committee appears elsewhere in this issue.)

"With the pattern of industry changing in America," the speaker said, "we as Teamsters must keep not only abreast of these changes, but we must look down the road and keep ahead of the changes. We can succeed as a great International union only if we are alert to the needs of today and tomorrow—we cannot survive by using only the methods of yesterday. We believe we have developed a useful and successful procedure in these great national trade divisions, but they can succeed only by the consistent and constant hard work of every member. We have a great responsibility to our membership—we are here to help advance that responsibility and I know that action here in Chicago will take us farther along the road toward more successful organization and operation in the months and years ahead."

Following Mr. Beck's remarks, he called for a report of the National Over-the-Road Policy Committee which was given by James Hoffa, trustee. Plans as adopted by the conference appear in detail elsewhere.



'. . . every local should send its full strength to the national convention in October.'

JOHN F. ENGLISH
General Secretary-Treasurer

FULL delegations to the 1952 International Brotherhood of Teamsters' convention was urged by General Secretary-Treasurer John F. English, in an address to trade division delegates at Chicago, March 25. Secretary English was a guest of the National Over-the-Road Trucking general conference.

Mr. English gave a general report of progress of the International Union, but concentrated on extending an invitation to all local unions to send their full authorized complement of delegates to the convention which will be held in Los Angeles, California, October 13, through 18.

"Preparations are well under way for the finest convention ever held by the Teamsters," the general officer said, "committees have been working for weeks to make detailed plans for this October meeting. We are determined that it shall be a great success."

As a special service to all local unions, Secretary-Treasurer English said that credentials would be prepared and mailed out to the proper offices of all locals by June 13, four months before the convention. The constitution provides that the credentials shall be in the hands of local unions two months before the convention, he said, but he felt that by having the data four months instead of two months, before the convention opens, interest in the forthcoming meetings would be considerably strengthened.

"I urge every local union in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to do its utmost to send every single delegate it is authorized to name to this convention. We have

GUIDE TO CONFERENCE COVERAGE

Details of 1952 Teamsters' Truck Check **2**

General Session, National Over-the-Road Conference Addresses:

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a great deal of important business. The constitution will be literally ripped 'from cover to cover' in the changes and revisions that will be made. This constitution is our law and it is to the interest of every local union to see that it is represented in the changes which are in the making.

Mr. English also had a brief report on the office of General Secretary-Treasurer. He reported the state of the Teamsters' union was good . . . very good. He said since he had reported to the traffic divisions a year ago the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had increased its membership rolls by 53,000 members.

Strong support of active and aggressive local unions was promised by the official. He said that his records showed a continuing report on the areas or locals which were active and doing a good job and those which were not showing up so well.

Endorsement of the trade division method of operations was voiced by Secretary English. He reported that the International had shown its faith in this new method of operation by contributing $151,000 to national conferences. He also said that the International was active in the support of strike benefit requests and in the past year had disbursed $163,000 in strike benefits. He added that the International had confidence in its locals and seldom refused to honor a strike call. He urged the members to be diplomatic and certain about their situation and not resort to strike action unless absolutely necessary, but when it is necessary and legitimate he promised the aid of the International.

He told the delegates that in his opinion a local union charter carries certain definite responsibilities for action and work. When those responsibilities are not being properly discharged, he said that there would be no hesitancy on his part to "pull down the charter."

The job of the International Office is to provide action for the local unions and joint councils. He pointed out that everyone in the Teamsters' Union has a job and that he sincerely hoped the International would continue to do its job in behalf of the membership in the union as well in the future as it has been able to do in the past.



'. . . new ton-mile tax proposals threaten existence of the motor transport industry.'

FRED LORDAN
Washington Highway Research Council

DANGERS to the motor truck industry and to the tens of thousands of Teamsters who make their living in it are ahead by the threatened spread of ton-mile truck tax legislation, Fred Lordan, Director of the Washington Highway Research Council, told delegates to the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference in Chicago March 25. Lordan, an expert in motor transport economics, was invited by Executive Vice-President Dave Beck, to appear before the delegates to explain the problem of the ton-mile tax with particular emphasis to the Oregon experience.

Lordan told the delegates that the usual methods of truck taxation are two-fold: a fuel tax and a graduated license fee. To this has been added a third tax, the ton-mile rate which was under what is called the "rail tax theory" by the late Joseph B. Eastman of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The strategy of the proponents of the new tax is to have the rate affect only the larger pieces of equipment beyond approximately 8,000 pounds. Oregon, he said, had claimed to be the "father of the ton-mile tax." The strategy of the proponents was to have this type of tax levied in Oregon, to such an extent that motor transport carriage would be on a par with the rails. He illustrated the burden which would be imposed by comparing a standard taxation situation in Utah which has the conventional tax with the new rates. A large rig in Utah which would cost $1,800 a year for taxes would cost $5,800 a year for gas-powered and $7,400 a year for Diesel-powered equipment.

Oregon wants to get other states to adopt the ton-mile tax, Lordan said, in the campaign against the trucking industry. New York legislative experts came to Oregon to study the law and returned to their home state and shortly thereafter New York adopted a ton-mile tax law which is now being contested in the courts.

Tax increases against the trucking industry would be about 54 per cent, the speaker predicted, in discussing proposed ton-mile rates. The Oregon law is subject to referendum action which will be held in November. If the Oregon law stands, the highway expert predicted its spread to other states. He said Idaho had adopted a similar law and related legislation has narrowly failed in Illinois and Ohio.

"This matter of the ton-mile tax is literally a life and death struggle for the motor truck industry," he said in appealing to labor for assistance in the fight, "if we fail in this fight, we are all in for some stormy weather ahead."

In commenting on his remarks, Executive Vice-President Dave Beck warned that Teamsters and the industry would be confronted by dis-

criminatory efforts in every state. He said that the livelihood of Teamsters is at stake, for if the industry is hard hit, there will be lowered truck volume, less equipment used and less need for truckers.

"We must help bring the trucking industry into a fair competitive position without loss of employment . . . we must help the industry to make money if our people are to continue to have jobs," Mr. Beck observed.



'. . . Teamsters must be vigilant with respect to regulatory agencies.'

FRANK TOBIN
Director of Research

THE importance of constant vigilance in affairs affecting Teamsters' welfare through regulation of the motor transport industry by the Interstate Commerce Commission was stressed by Frank Tobin, director of research, in an address before trade division delegates at Chicago, March 26. Mr. Tobin spoke at a meeting of the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference to which all delegates of trade divisions meeting in Chicago during the week of March 24 had been invited. Approximately 500 delegates were present.

A report on developments in the motor transport industry regulations by the I. C. C. was presented by the speaker. Trip leasing, standards of physical requirements, post office mail trucking, and reports by Class I and Class II carriers to the Interstate Commerce Commission were the topics discussed by Mr. Tobin.

Tobin pointed out the three ways in which the I. C. C. regulations affect the motor transport industry: first, through establishment of freight rate structure; secondly, through regulation of the entrance of new firms in transportation industry, and thirdly, through issuance and enforcement of safety regulations on the highway.

It is through the third function that Teamsters are vitally affected and under which the union can make its position known and influence felt. He reviewed the history of the effort to abolish trip leasing and said that the abuses of the past were the bases of regulation revision which changed the method of leasing and the payments therefor. The Commission reversed Division Five and eliminated trip leasing and immediately precipitated litigation on behalf of trucking interests which do not want to see the regulations changed. The I. C. C. was sued in Federal court and two decisions have been handed down by two different U. S. Circuit Courts of Appeals, both of which in three-judge decisions unanimously upheld the rights of the I. C. C. to make such regulations. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has taken the position that the I. C. C. does have the right and thus is fighting for the adoption and enforcement of the new regulations.

The contest is now in the United States Supreme Court and the speaker said he sincerely hoped the high tribunal would affirm the unanimous decisions of the Circuit Courts of Appeal.

Proposed new physical standards for drivers as planned by the I. C. C. were discussed.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been trying to get the reports of Class I and Class II carriers so prepared, under I. C. C. regulations, that the costs of labor would be reflected and easily ascertained by examining the reports. The present report method, he said is naturally useless. Operators are resisting any effort to compel more detailed and informative reports and the I. C. C. is trying to straddle the two positions . . . the operators in wanting no change and the Teamsters in wanting completely new and more readily understood reports.

In the case of Class I carriers, Tobin said he had appeared before the U. S. Bureau of the Budget to explain that it would not be impossible or impracticable to provide data in the reports which would show hours and wage charges and costs. Operators had protested that such type of reports could not be made, but Tobin said the Bureau of the Budget was convinced the reports could be made and the I. C. C. has reinstated the requirements in the regulations governing reports.

The speaker also discussed briefly the relation of the Post Office trucking contracts and the I. C. C. He was on the committee which conferred on March 21 with Assistant Postmaster General John M. Redding. A report on the conference held by the committee with the Post Office Department was made to the general meeting by Simon Wampold, Teamster attorney. The story on Mr. Wampold's report appears on page 14.

Mr. Tobin concluded by pointing out to the delegates the importance of following in detail the regulations of the I. C. C. and the relation to the motor truck industry, particularly as it affects Teamsters. He drew attention to the fact that members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are affected both as labor union members and as workers in an industry which is subject to Federal regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission and by numerous state regulatory laws and agencies.



'. . . we want action and action now in this Post Office mail-hauling matter.'

SIMON WAMPOLD
Spokesman for Special Committee on Post Office Policy

IMMEDIATE action in providing specifications for prevailing wages, hours and conditions in mail trucking contracts was demanded of the Post Office Department by a special committee of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters which conferred with postal officials March 21. A report of the special committee which had been named by Executive Vice-President Dave Beck was presented to the National Over-the-Road Trucking Conference in Chicago March 25 by Simon Wampold, Teamster attorney, of Seattle.

Wampold was spokesman for the special committee which included Thomas Hicket of New York City; Arthur Hudson of the Central States Conference; J. Albert Woll, Teamster general counsel; Frank Tobin, director of research; Edward Wheeler, Washington, D. C., attorney; Einar Mohn representing the International, and Fred Lordan of the Washington Highway Research Council representing employers.

Wampold related to the delegates the background of the Post Office Department dispute. He said that when bids were invited in the West without the protection of wages or conditions or safety regulations, the Teamsters immediately went into action. He said that in response to Vice-President Beck's request Congress and the Post Office Department were deluged with telegraphic protests. The Postmaster General informed the committee that never had pressure been so intense on one subject as it had been on the mail contract proposition. The committee was informed three courses of action could be taken which would remedy the shortcomings of the contract situation whereby fair play would be assured both Teamsters and employers with substantial investment in equipment. First, legislation could be adopted to compel prevailing wages and compliance with other conditions. Bills have already been introduced, he said, by Senator Warren Magnuson, Representatives Hugh B. Mitchell and Henry M. Jackson, all of Washington and by Congressman John Shelley of California.

The Post Office Department had promised cooperation, the speaker said, but what the Teamsters want, he added, is action . . . "the matter of legislation must be pursued to successful enactment," he said.

A second remedial alternative is to have the Interstate Commerce Commission take jurisdiction under its safety regulatory authority over motor transport in interstate commerce. The I. C. C. has been reluctant to assume this authority, it was pointed out by the attorney.

A third and the most immediate form of relief which can be extended would be to have the Post Office Department include I. C. C. safety provisions for motor transport in the contracts. No contract should be granted to any bidder not complying with these safety regulations, said the speaker.

Wampold said that Redding had been courteous and friendly to the committee, but that the time has past when labor, especially the Teamsters would be put off with a slap on the back.

"We want action and action now," he said, "we must pursue the first two remedies . . . legislation and I. C. C. jurisdiction. But we must insist *now* that the Post Office Department include in its bid specifications the I. C. C. regulations and see that they are adhered to."

It was the recommendation of the special committee that the pressure on the Post Office Department be continued. The committee report emphasized the fact that the Teamsters are not asking for special consideration or privileges, but merely for provisions which will protect the life and limb of motor truck drivers who must man the contract vehicles. The committee, the report said, was merely asking that the Post Office Department be asked to comply with the same regulations which are demanded by law of private industry in the transport of motor freight.

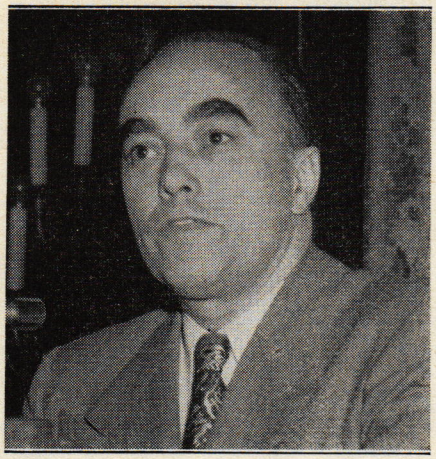
After the committee representatives had concluded Vice-President Beck drew attention to the fact that 1952 is a political year and all members of the House and one-third of the Senate are up for reelection. Now is the time to press for legislative enactment, he said, urging that Teamsters pursue the matter through their own individual Congressional districts. This approach, he said, would prove the most effective in getting fair consideration for the pending legislation.

Four Bills on P.O. Problem in Hopper

As this issue of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER goes to press four bills are in the congressional hopper, introduced by friends of the Teamsters' Union.

S. 2830 was introduced by Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington.

On the House side three bills were introduced by West Coast members, Congressmen Hugh Mitchell of Washington, and Henry M. Jackson, also of Washington, and John F. Shelley of California.



'. . . we haven't begun to feel the effects of Taft-Hartley; it is full of traps. . . .'

J. ALBERT WOLL
General Counsel

ORGANIZED labor faces increasing difficulties all along the legal and legislative front, J. Albert Woll, General Counsel of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, told delegates to the National Over-the-Road Conference in Chicago March 25. More than 500 delegates from all parts of the country were present at the session which was held in the Palmer House. Delegates of all trade divisions which were having policy and general conferences in Chicago the week of March 24, were invited to attend the Over-the-Road general conference session.

Woll referred to the "deluge of anti-labor laws" which had flowed out of state and national sources in the last few years and said that practically all phases of labor's conduct are threatened. He said that some of the most basic rights which labor had always believed it possessed or was entitled to under the Federal constitution are being destroyed or seriously impaired by legislation and court action.

The speaker cited several specific examples of labor's difficulties under new legislation. The first case cited involved the efforts of Brown & Root—anti-labor construction organization to get the State courts of Texas to grant an injunction which almost completely handcuffs organized labor in its organizing efforts. The injunction under the Texas law has been modified, Woll said, but it has taken a long time and organizing in the construction field has been paralyzed by litigation and restraining orders. He predicted that the working people of Texas would revolt against the anti-union tactics of Brown & Root and demand fair play to workers.

In Missouri, he said, citing another type of anti-labor action, an old anti-trust law has been dusted off and used against labor. The law was passed aimed at unlawful business combines, but it is now being used against labor to enjoin picketing.

The third example cited by Woll involved what he called judge-made law in the State of Washington. He referred to the Hanke case in which the judge decided "on grounds of public policy" that action by labor unions which had always been legal was, in his view, illegal because it threatened small business. This reasoning was upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court.

An Alabama court had issued an injunction in another case involving a secondary boycott case under the Taft-Hartley law. This was done although injunctions cannot be brought by anyone except the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. This action was upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court. A review is now being sought before the United States Supreme Court.

In discussing the Taft-Hartley law, Mr. Woll said that act is full of traps to ensnare organized labor and the traps have not yet been sprung.

"We have by no means felt the full impact of the Taft-Hartley Act," Woll said. "When Congressman Hartley said that 'there is more to the act than meets the eye,' he knew what he was talking about. This law is designed to cripple organized labor. If a depression comes, labor will learn bitterly the effects and the dramatic provisions of this vicious legislation."

He pointed out that the law provides for damages which can be levied against a union under certain conditions. He said he was pleased to report that despite many actions brought against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, not one cent had been awarded against the union. As an illustration of the damages possibility he cited the Longshoremen's Union which recently was successfully sued for $750,000 and the award against the union was upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

Woll closed with an attack on the Hobbs Act which, he said, was class legislation aimed solely at the Teamsters. He said the union should not be misled by the words "robbery and extortion." This phase might be interpreted to hold union organizing unlawful and a violation of the penal provisions of the act. No leader in the entire Teamsters' Union would rest until this act is wiped off the statute books, he said.

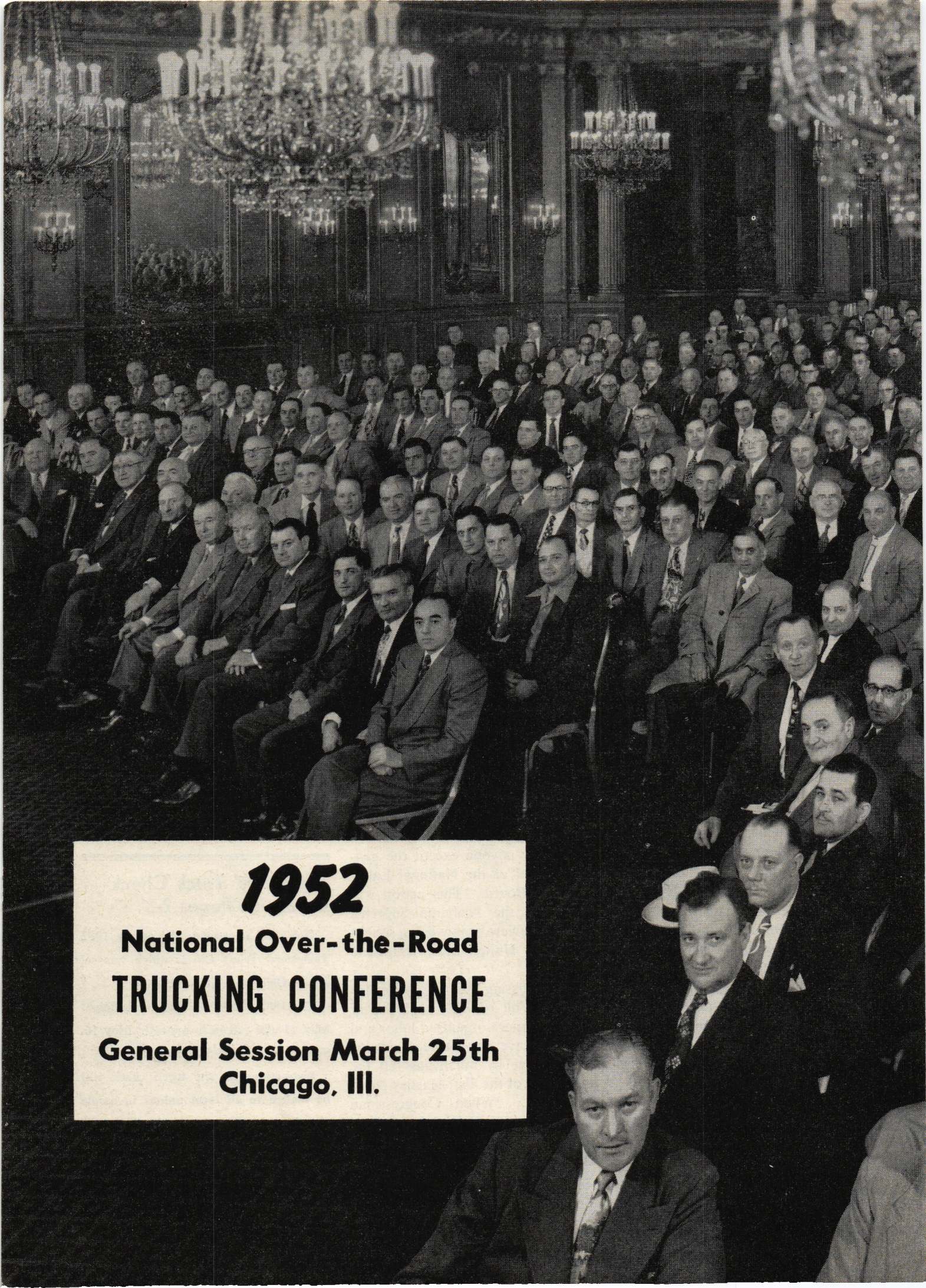
In his final remarks Woll said that labor unions are instrumentalities of social justice and all those in unions have a responsibility to carry out the ends of the union for the betterment of the working man's position.

Teamsters' Truck Check Details on Pages 2-3

Don't fail to read details on the 1952 Teamsters' Truck Check which was set at the Chicago conferences.

The 1952 check will begin at midnight May 11 and extend to midnight May 16. See pages 2 and 3 for details.

Instructions on the truck check will be mailed to all local unions in ample time for adequate planning and preparation on the detailed procedure.



1952

National Over-the-Road

TRUCKING CONFERENCE

General Session March 25th
Chicago, Ill.



Warehousemen Review Gains

Conference to Review and Clarify Organizing Policy; Efforts in South To Be Stepped Up, Delegates Hear

EFFORTS to organize the warehouse field of Teamster jurisdiction are being intensified as the result of the action taken by the National Warehouse Conference in its annual meeting held March 26 in Chicago. The general session, attended by 250 delegates, was preceded by a meeting of the trade division's policy committee. All sessions were held at the Palmer House.

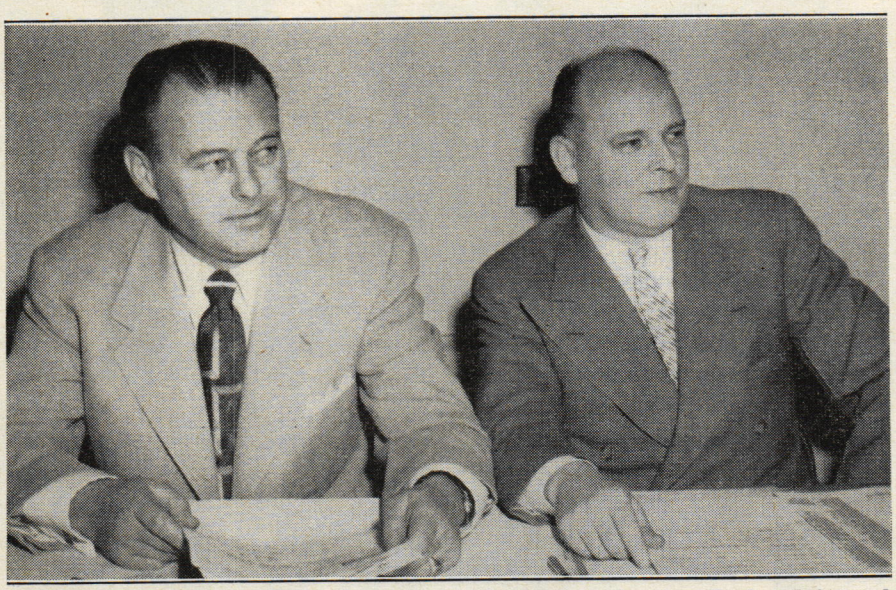
The delegates reviewed progress in the warehouse field during the past year and discussed problems confronting unions affiliated with this trade division. Conference Secretary George E. Mock, Seattle, Wash., reported activities of the trade division for the past year and Chairman Edward Hartsough, Philadelphia, Pa., made a plea for full cooperation in the coming year.

Of primary concern was the action by the conference in acting on a policy group recommendation concerning national organizing policy. It was recommended that a committee be authorized by the general conference to confer with the International Union on policy matters and clarification of national warehouse organizing policy. Named on the committee to meet with the International were: Chairman Hartsough; Secretary Mock; Burt Brannan, Detroit, Mich.; Leonard Geiger, New York City; Elmer Cole, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles Di Guardo, Baltimore, Md.; and Harold J. Gibbons, St. Louis, Mo. A meeting is scheduled to be held at an early date.

Action was also taken by the conference voicing support to Local 169, Philadelphia, Pa., which is on strike against the American Stores in Philadelphia and Kearny, N. J. The policy committee had been asked by Chairman Hartsough who comes from No. 169 for a vote of moral support in the fight the union is making against the treatment it has been receiving from the corporation.

Secretary Mock read a report of 1951 activities of the trade division and in commenting on last year's schedule said it would greatly aid the work of the conference if all locals would cooperate in sending in their current contracts. It is from the current contracts that the trade division developes information of assistance to the affiliated local unions, he told the delegates. Contract information is not only of interest nationally, but it has proved of substantial aid in negotiating new agreements.

Executive Vice President Dave Beck addressed the general session of the warehouse conference and praised the work of the trade division. He emphasized the importance for locals to recognize their points of strength and their points of weakness. He said it is a mistake for unions to attempt a show of economic strength unless they feel certain they can win. Efforts to demonstrate economic strength through strike action which fail often set the union back farther than it had progressed before strike action was undertaken, he warned.



WAREHOUSE PROBLEMS—George Mock, secretary, Seattle, Wash., (left) and Edward Hartsough, Philadelphia, chairman, of the National Warehouse Conference discuss organizing problems at the policy committee meeting in Chicago.

Closely Allied

Warehousing and trucking are closely allied and form a natural partnership for trade union organization work, Beck said. He said these two avenues of organization represented the basis of modern economy. If these are held by Teamster organization, long strides can be made toward organizing allied activities subject to the union's jurisdiction.

Reports were invited from various areas of the country. Among those presented which elicited widespread interest concerned warehouse jurisdiction in the shipyards and was given by Ted White of San Francisco. Mr. White pointed out that when the shipbuilding boom was

over many unions let interest in shipyard jurisdiction lapse. He said that the nation now is on the way to another program of ship construction and repair which offers substantial opportunities for employment and organization. He said that other crafts affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had moved in on the shipyard situation and were taking over workers and activities which properly belonged to Teamsters. He cited specific places and specific unions which were infringing on Teamster jurisdiction. He made a plea to the delegates to go back to their locals and if they were situated in shipyard areas to look into each shipyard operation with care. He said there were great opportunities which were being neglected by failure to note and police shipyard activities.

The running conflict between Local 12 of the Teamsters and Harry Bridges' Local 6 in the San Francisco Bay area was the subject of reports by Secretary Mock and Joseph Dillon of San Francisco.

Dillon told the meeting that Bridges had been successful in getting waterfront employers to sign a new contract in advance of the expiration of the old one at a lower wage figure than the Teamsters would have been able to meet. A cheap contract was the chief thing employers apparently were looking for regardless of the character of the union with which they were dealing. The San Francisco delegate said that the trade division had real hopes for greater advances in the area in 1953, the next contract renewal period.

Efforts to organize in the South will be stepped up, Charles Pendergast of the Southern Conference, Birmingham, Ala., told the general session. He pointed to specific gains which had been made in the South and said that organizing work had a tremendous opportunity in many parts of the southern states. He expressed the thanks of southern Teamsters for aid extended by their brethren from the North, particularly from those in the Central States Conference.

Auto Conference Adopts Plans

Five-Point Education and Organization Program Shaped at Meeting of Automotive, Petroleum and Allied Trades Conference

A FIVE-POINT program of education and organization was adopted by the National Automotive Petroleum and Allied Trades Conference at its national meeting in Chicago, March 27. The program adopted was recommended by the policy committee which had formulated the recommendations on the basis of needs expressed by members from all parts of the country. Between 150 and 200 delegates attended the session.

Other results of the 1952 national meeting, held at the Palmer House in connection with a series of trade division conferences and policy sessions which brought more than 500 Teamsters to Chicago, included:

Reelection of Chairman Melroy Horn and Secretary-Treasurer Edwin Dorsey as Trade division officers for another year. Both members are from Local 618, St. Louis, Mo.;

Reports on progress of organization activity by the Automotive Conference from all parts of the country;

Distribution of specially prepared literature in the interest of improved organization procedure and of more effective wage negotiations techniques;

Presentation of a strong appeal from Chairman Horn for better cooperation in providing current contracts for the conference in order to improve the clearing house functions of the Trade Division.

The five-point educational program was the highlight of the conference. When Secretary Dorsey presented the report of the policy committee embodying the recommendations, he said that the subject matter represented the considered judgment of members from every section of the United States. The program as presented includes:

1. Continuation of educational efforts to make local unions and joint councils union shop card conscious. To this and several subsidiary recommendations were put forward.

—A request to Executive Vice-President Dave Beck to have included in the 1952 Teamsters' Truck Check a union shop card sticker and a pamphlet describing the jurisdiction of the Automotive Conference. This pamphlet would also point out that automobile salesmen of new and used car dealers are subject to this conference's jurisdiction.

—A request to the International Union to authorize the employment by the International of a full-time publicity director whose duties would be those of promoting the union service and shop card. The first efforts of this publicity director would be focused on Teamster members to make them completely shop card conscious.

—Introduction of a resolution at the 1952 International Brotherhood of Teamsters' convention providing for the adoption of the union shop card as the official insigne. (The two horses head over the wheel is now the official union label of the Teamsters Union.)

—A request that the union service

shop card be displayed in the meeting halls of all local unions and joint councils.

2. A request to the International Union that a letter be sent to all local unions and joint councils requesting their cooperation in supporting the organizing efforts of the Automotive Conference. This letter would especially point out the potential field of organizing in garages, service units, and new and in used car dealers.

3. A request to the International Union that it send a letter to all local unions asking for information concerning locals which have members under Automotive Conference jurisdiction. This would elicit information whereby the conference could compile a complete roster and thus increase its effectiveness.

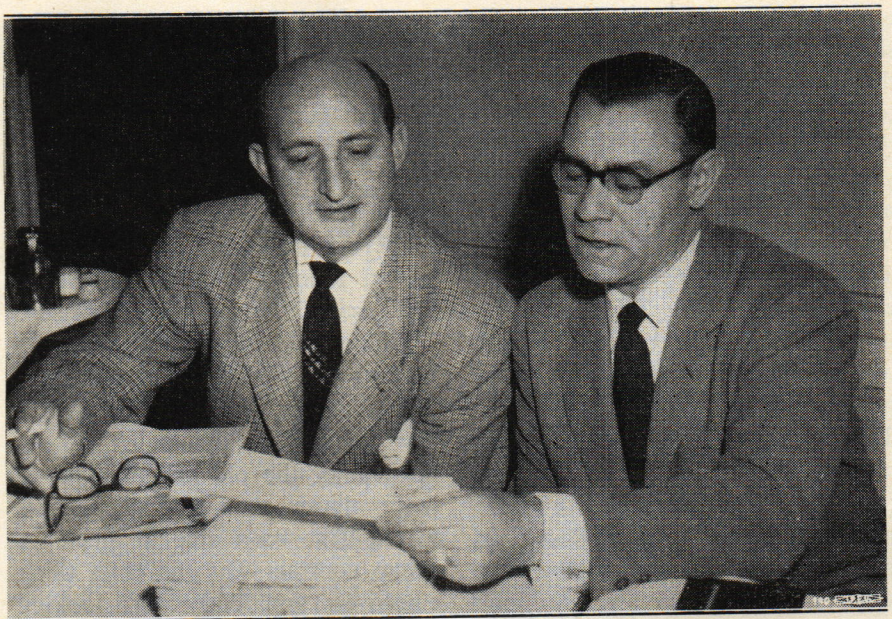
4. A request to the International Union that it conduct a national checking campaign similar to the arrival truck check which would include fleet maintenance garages, suppliers, etc., which would give the conference useful organizing data.

5. A request by the conference to the conference secretary-treasurer that he send a letter to all affiliated local unions and joint councils asking for contract data for the records and information service of the trade division.

The recommendations of the policy committee were so well received that they were aropted unanimously. Following their adoption, the conference reelected Chairman Horn, Secretary Dorsey and the entire policy committee. The work of the officers and policy committee drew numerous favorable comments from the delegates.

'Tools' Described

Chairman Horn told the delegates that the conference had prepared some useful tools for organization and negotiation. These included a chart showing the overall jurisdiction of the conference; large union shop card posters, and a special computation chart on wage stabilization showing the items to which reference might be made in wage contract negotiation. It was pointed out that many locals are overlooking important wage items which would entitle them to greater advances than many think they are entitled to under present regulations.



PLANNING ORGANIZING STRATEGY—Edward Dorsey, secretary, (left) and Melroy Horn, chairman of the Automotive, Petroleum & Allied Trades National Conference, make plans for stepping up organizing work in their jurisdiction. Both are from St. Louis, Mo.

Informal reports were made by several delegates on organization problems and progress. Arnold Moss, Local 665, San Francisco, told about safety displays and billboards as public service and civic good will builders.

Pat Mackey, Local 306, Grand Rapids, Mich., related a similar experience developed through a bond drive float. Experience in the organization of auto dealers in Seattle, Wash., was explained by James Rohan, Local 882, Gordon Lindsay of the Western Conference of Teamsters pointed out the importance of working toward national action in the automotive field. Organizer Bennet of Michigan spoke about relations with other American Federation of Labor unions in fields which might be related to work of the conference and warned of jurisdictional infringement.

Chairman Horn closed the meeting with a strong plea to all local locals to provide prompt and complete contract information. He said the only way in which the trade division could realize the greatest value from the organization was through providing the maximum information necessary. He also recommended strongly that locals affiliated with the trade division develope a strong sense of civic participation and help build good will for labor and for the Teamsters through initiating civic projects and becoming indentified with matters of general public progress.

New Construction Shows Seasonal Decline

New construction in February showed a seasonal decline, according to a joint report issued last month by the Departments of Labor and Commerce. The March report will not be available until sometime this month. The decline was about 7 per cent bringing the total volume down to approximately $2 billion.

The report showed a greater proportionate drop in public than in private construction. Highway work was down particularly. Private construction work fell less than usual for this time of the year, the Government agencies reported.

WSB Regulation 20 Explained

Ruling Expected to Expedite Action
More Than 1,000 Cases Involving Workers
Paid in Whole or Part by Commission

THE Wage Stabilization Board has issued General Wage Regulation 20 setting forth the procedure for applying the WSB's established catch-up and cost-of-living wage policies to employees paid in whole or in part on a commission basis.

WSB Chairman Nathan P. Feinsinger estimated that the new regulation will enable the agency to dispose of more than 1,000 cases now pending before the National and 14 Regional Boards.

Regulation 20 is largely self-administering. Certain adjustments in the *earnings* of commission employees may be put into effect under terms of the regulation without petitioning the Board for approval.

Increases in *commission* rates must have advance WSB approval, however.

Economic Stabilization Administrator Roger L. Putnam has approved the new regulation. It does not represent a new stabilization policy but merely an adaptation of General Wage Regulations 6 and 8 to commission earnings. Regulation 6 permits a wage adjustment of 10 per cent over the level of January, 1950, while Regulation 8 allows increases to equal the rise in the cost of living since January 15, 1951, as reflected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumers' Price Index. Under Regulation 20, these adjustments may now be applied to the earnings of employees paid in whole or in part on a commission basis.

Many such workers receive a fixed salary or base rate which is supplemented by earnings derived from a commission on the items sold. Regulation 20 permits the percentage adjustments of Regulations 6 and 8 to be applied both to the fixed salary and commission earnings portions of the employee's pay.

The adjustments may be put into effect without prior Board approval and the new regulation outlines the procedure for computing the allowable increases. Three examples are included in the regulation to illustrate how the increases are figured on fixed salary or base rate, on the earnings derived from a commission rate which does not exceed two per cent, and on earnings derived from a commission rate in excess of two per cent.

Under the regulation, the "base pay period" for that portion of earnings derived from a fixed salary is the first regular payroll period ending on or after January 15, 1950. The percentage adjustments permissible under Regulations 6 and 8 are applied directly to the employee's fixed weekly or monthly salary, or hourly rate, or guarantee, in the same manner that such adjustments are applied to the hourly rates of production employees. The increases may be added to the commission employee's fixed salary, giving him a new salary base for computation of future Regulation 8, or cost of living, increases.

Regulation 20 permits a choice of several different base periods for that portion of earnings derived from a commission rate. The "base pay period" may be the first regular payroll period ending on or after January 15, 1950; or, all payroll periods ending during the six months preceding and following January 1, 1950 (July 1, 1949-June 30, 1950); or, all payroll periods ending during the calendar year 1950, or, the WSB will entertain petitions for the use of still other base pay periods. Once the base pay period is selected, however, it may not be changed without prior Board approval.

Just as in the case of the fixed salary, the percentage adjustment permissible under Regulation 6 is applied directly to the employee's average earnings from commissions during the base period; and the adjustment under Regulation 8 is applied to 110 per cent of base pay period commission earnings. The increases, once computed, may be given in the form of a periodic side payment or bonus.

Regulation 20 makes a distinction between cases where the commission rate does not exceed two per cent and cases where it exceeds two per cent. In the former instance, the allowable Regulation 6 and 8 adjustments on the employee's earnings from commissions may be added to the fixed salary. This cannot be done, however, where the commission rate exceeds two per cent. Moreover, where the commission rate exceeds two per cent there is an offset provision to be taken into account. After the Regulation 6 and 8 adjustments are added to the base pay period commission earnings, there must be subtracted from this sum a figure described in Regulation 20 as "current commission earnings." Current commission earnings are defined to be average commission earnings for the 52 work weeks immediately preceding the date of the proposed increase.

In the case of both the fixed salary and the earnings from commissions, any past general increases granted since the base pay periods must be offset against the amount otherwise allowable according to the

(Continued on page 25)

EDITORIALS

Missing Ingredient

When President Truman made his public appeal for support of his foreign aid recommendations, he omitted citing one of the most important elements in the world-wide fight against Communism. He failed to cite the tremendous job being done by trade unions in fighting the Communist threat all the way from the North Sea to Singapore.

It is hard to over-estimate the importance of the missing ingredient which the President did not mention—in fact, the situation did not necessarily call upon him to bring out the importance of the unionism's fight for freedom. Unions themselves are conscious of the importance of this fight. The American Federation of Labor has been a world leader in the struggle against totalitarianism—totalitarianism of both the extreme right of Fascism and the extreme left of Communism.

Those who are in the widely deployed fighting fronts of the Mutual Security program know better than anyone how important is the battle being waged by the trade unions in behalf of freedom. Trade union leaders are the first affected by any totalitarian crackdown. Unionists felt the lash first of the Nazis when Hitler began his rise to power. Unions are virtually a dead letter in Russia where the Soviet high command runs the show completely.

Unionism and freedom cannot thrive where any form of totalitarianism exists. Likewise, if a country has a strong union movement based on sound economic principles, totalitarianism will not flourish. Thus to all the weapons mentioned by the President, it is well to add the missing ingredient in the speech—the fighting power of free trade unionism.

Easing the Cutbacks

Some of the best news to come out of Washington, D. C., in months is the announcement that the National Production Authority is beginning to ease the cut-backs on materials for construction.

The building and construction trades have been seriously hurt recently by the curtailment of steel, copper and aluminum. Not only are building tradesmen hurt, but the many related and auxiliary trades and crafts are affected. Among these are Teamsters who haul building and construction materials. For when building slows down, one of the first groups hit are those who haul materials for construction.

Two new orders have recently been announced which will be helpful. This month the situation was eased on one type of construction and as of July 1 there will be another step taken to open up more materials for non-defense building.

The construction industry plays such an important role in the national economy that anything which seriously affects it, seriously affects the entire nation. We are glad, therefore, not only for the sake of our members who are affected, but for the entire country that there is a definite easing of the curtailment situation.

Friends at Your Expense

The business magazines lately have been running articles on how to win friends and influence people at Uncle Sam's expense.

The chief way of doing it is through taking advantage of tax loopholes. Many large corporations like to build up their reservoir of good will through the practice of what they call "constructive public relations." And one of the manifestations of this policy is through donations or gifts to charitable or educational institutions or causes.

Now charitable or philanthropic gifts are worthy indeed and are not to be discouraged—unless it means that an extra tax tap will be made on the working man. And this is precisely what is happening.

Here is a sample recently cited. The X. Y. Z. Corporation has a net income of $1 million and is allowed to contribute up to five per cent and take that as a deduction before estimating taxes. Five per cent of $1 million, $50,000, which deducted from $1 million leaves $950,000. With normal tax and surtax and excess profits lopped off the company has a net profit of $321,000. Remember that figure $321,000 for the company which has donated $50,000.

If X. Y. Z. Corporation did not elect to donate $50,000 it would have been taxed on $1 million, not $950,000. Normal tax, surtax and excess profits would have left it $330,000 net or only $9,000 more than it would have had if it had donated $50,000. In other words it cost only $9,000 in fact to give away $50,000.

Instead of getting $670,000 from X. Y. Z. Uncle

Sam got $629,000 and the rest of the taxpayers make up the difference or the $41,000.

The eminently respectable *U. S. News & World Report* says that such shenanigans (it doesn't call them that) "is a way to win good will at low cost." They win friends all right, but in the overall tax needs, the money must come from somewhere. Result: more sales and excise taxes which fall on the lower income people. These tax-free donations are so much lost motion to Uncle Sam.

This tax-escaping method is one way of corporations building up that good will they talk about—at your expense. It's well to keep an eye on Congress and see what happens to tax legislation.

Cosmetic Guinea Pigs

American women are literally cosmetic guinea pigs and are used as laboratory testing specimens for all manner of strange compounds, beautifiers, creams, lotions, powders, and what have you.

Two Federal bodies have been focussing attention recently on the harm which can come through the use of untested, untried and unregulated drugs. The Food & Drug Administration and the Delaney Subcommittee on Chemicals in Food have both been doing an excellent educational job.

Last month Commissioner C. W. Crawford of the Food & Drug Administration testified before the Delaney subcommittee on the cosmetics problem. He said that the public is being used as a guinea pig "by careless, indifferent or unscrupulous" cosmetic makers. Most of the harm, he said, comes from what he termed the "fringe" of the industry. The FDA had received complaints ranging all the way from minor and temporary irritations to fatalities.

Crawford cited specific cases to support his statement. An Atlanta woman died from using a heatless permanent wave preparation. The article had not been pre-tested under Federal supervision—there is no provision for pre-testing new cosmetics. The Federal official told the committee that the agency had received complaints about mercury compounds, depilatories, deodorants, hair straighteners, hair curlers, hair rinses, hair dyes, hair lotions, shampoos and many other types of cosmetics.

The Delaney group has been examining the problem of chemicals in both food and cosmetics and has revealed some disturbing developments on the drug front. Unregulated and poorly tested drugs whether used externally for decoration or internally for food can be dangerous. Both the committee and the FDA are to be congratulated for bringing to public attention the dangers which are inherent in unregulated and careless use of drugs. The next logical step is for some sort of remedial legislation in behalf of the public.

Useful Safety Suggestion

No one has a greater stake in motor transport safety operations than the truck driver. With the employer safety is a matter of revenue and profit or loss. With the driver, safety is literally a matter of life or death.

A Harvard scientist comes forward with a suggestion which is useful and is geared primarily to the driver and to human terms rather than to mechanical design considerations. Dr. Ross A. McFarland working on a highway safety program for the Harvard School of Public Health comes up with the suggestion that the design of motor vehicles should proceed "in terms of human capabilities and limitations."

In short, Dr. McFarland, told a group of automotive engineers, design should proceed from the driver outward—that is the driver is the first concern in design, not the vehicle, nor the load nor the revenue. Machines and working areas should be built in terms of the men who are going to use them in order to minimize accident hazards.

If design is geared to the driver, many accidents and near accidents can be avoided, believes the doctor. Driving a truck in itself is a major operation and the movements to drive properly and safely should be made as effortless as possible. Modern traffic takes a heavy toll in attention and the easier a truck is to drive, the greater is the margin of safety.

It will be interesting to see what effect Dr. McFarland's suggestions have on future design. If the employers and manufacturers realize that safe design is good business, we may expect more attention in the future than we have had in the past on truck development and design.

Costly Capehart Amendment

Organized labor has a new ally in fighting the costly Capehart amendment.

When Congress revised the Defense Production Act, it attached some expensive amendments, one of which was sponsored by Senator Homer Capehart (Rep., Ind.). This amendment was attacked at the time by labor as "built-in inflation."

Under this amendment new costs are added to merchandise and the extra tariff passed on to the consumer. As the result of this the American people have had to pay $750 million more for what they have had to buy in the past year than would have been necessary without any such amendment.

That is the figure given a Senate committee by Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson. He is a new ally of labor against the Capehart proviso. He told the committee that "the vast bulk of the increases (under the amendment) is still ahead." (Under the amendment manufacturers may add on to their prices all increased costs through July 26, 1951.)

City Drivers' Wages Show Gain

Survey Reveals Unionists Average Hourly Earnings in July, 1951, Were $1.65, Boost Of Nine Cents Over Previous Year Scale

HOURLY union scales of workers engaged in local city trucking averaged $1.65 on July 1, 1951, according to the sixteenth annual survey of union scales of local city trucking conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Union scales averaged $1.69 for drivers and $1.42 for helpers. Between July 1, 1950, and July 1, 1951, wage scales advanced 5.6 per cent or 9 cents an hour for organized city truck drivers, and 5.7 per cent or 8 cents for helpers.

Scale increases provided by collectively-bargained agreements effective during the year were more widespread than in the previous 12-month period. Over four-fifths of the drivers and helpers had upward scale revisions in the year ending July 1, 1951, whereas less than three-fifths benefited from scale changes in the preceding year.

Straight-time weekly hours showed practically no change during the year, averaging 42 hours on July 1, 1951. The typical workweek was comprised of 40 hours and prevailed for seven-tenths of the drivers and helpers.

Scope and Method of Study

The information presented in this report is based on union scales in effect on July 1, 1951 which covered more than 260,000 drivers and 40,000 helpers in the local trucking industry in 77 cities ranging in population from about 40,000 to more than 1,000,000. Over-the-road drivers and local city drivers paid on a mileage or commission basis were excluded from the study. Data were obtained primarily from local union officials by mail questionnaire. In some cities data were obtained from regional representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America (AFL), or from local union officials by Bureau representatives.

Union scales are defined as the minimum wage rates or maximum schedules of hours (before payment of premium overtime) agreed upon through collective bargaining by employers and unions. Rates in excess of the negotiated minimum which may be paid for special qualifications or other reasons are not included.

Average scales are designed to show current levels and are based on all scales reported for the current year in the cities covered. Individual scales are weighted by the number of union members reported at the scale. These averages are not measures for yearly comparisons because of annual changes in union membership and in classifications studied.

Trend of Wage Scales

Between July 1, 1950, and July 1, 1951, wage scales of unionized local city truck drivers and helpers increased 5.6 per cent to advance the index of union hourly scales to 206.9. The increase registered during the year was greater than 3.5 rise in the 12-month period ending July 1, 1950 but was substantially below the gains achieved in each of the four previous years, when annual advances ranging from 8 to 15 per cent were recorded.[1]

On July 1, 1951, the index of union scales exceeded the average for the three years preceding the Korean conflict (1947-1949) by 18.2 per cent for local city truck drivers and helpers combined, by 17.9 per cent for drivers, and by 19.6 per cent for helpers.

Increases Vary

Of the drivers and helpers receiving scale increases during the year, a fourth had advances of less than 5 per cent, a half from 5 to 10 per cent, and slightly over a fifth from 10 to 15 per cent. Although adjustments ranging from less than 5 cents to over 40 cents an hour were provided in individual contracts, advances of 5 to 15 cents an hour were received by over three-fifths of the drivers and helpers benefiting from scale revisions.

Union scales for some motor-truck drivers in each of the 77 cities studied were increased between July 1, 1950, and July 1, 1951. On a city basis, the average increases ranged from 1.8 per cent in Cleveland to 13 per cent in Knoxville. Average increases in eight cities—all in the south—amounted to 10 per cent or more per hour. Upward adjustments averaged under 5 cents an hour in a sixth of the cities; increases of from 5 to 10 cents and from 10 to 15 cents each applied to about two-fifths of the cities. Charleston (W. Va.), Chicago, and Knoxville were the only cities in which average hourly advances of 15 cents or more were recorded.

Of the 72 cities for which data

[1]In the index series, designed for trend purposes, yearly changes in union scales are based on comparable quotations for each trade in consecutive years weighted by the number of union members reported at each quotation in the current year.

Beginning with this report, the base for the computation of the index series has been shifted from July 1, 1939 to the average of the three-year period 1947-49. Index tables computed on both the old and new bases are presented in this report. In future reports, indexes on the 1939 base will be discontinued.

were reported for helpers, three cities indicated no change in the union scales of the previous year. In half of the cities studied the increases averaged from 5 to 10 cents an hour. Little Rock and Spokane recorded the greatest gains, with average hourly advances of 15 and 17½ cents, respectively.

Scales of unionized local city truck drivers averaged $1.69 on July 1, 1951, and ranged from less than 80 cents to more than $2.50 an hour. Nearly three-fourths of the drivers studied were employed under contracts stipulating scales of $1.50 to $2 an hour; a tenth had hourly scales of $2 or more. Helpers averaged $1.42 an hour with seven-tenths of the workers having contract scales varying from $1.25 to $1.75 an hour. Scales of less than $1.25 were in effect for a fifth of the helpers, and of $1.75 or more for one of every 14.

A comparison of the scales in effect on July 1, 1951 with those existing on July 1, 1950 indicates the approximate extent of adjustments since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. Nearly 70 per cent of the drivers on July 1, 1950 had scales ranging from $1.50 to $2 an hour; only 4 per cent had negotiated hourly scales of $2 or more. At that time 25 per cent of the helpers had hourly scales under $1.25 and only 1 per cent had scales as high as $1.75.

Differences in hourly scales of motortruck drivers and helpers exist not only between cities and regions but also between industry and commodity classifications within a city. Variations in the terminology and classification used among cities preclude sound intercity or nationwide comparisons of union scales on a commodity, industry, and/or size-of-truck basis.

Rates of drivers and helpers varied widely between cities.

Average union scales for drivers on July 1, 1951 varied from $1.01 in Charlotte, N. C., to $1.95 in Oakland, Calif. In 41 cities scales averaged $1.50 or more an hour, and in 11 cities less than $1.25.

Union scales for helpers averaged highest in Oakland ($1.85) and lowest in Jacksonville (81 cents). In eight other Southern cities rate levels were below $1 an hour. Average scales for helpers in four Pacific Coast cities—Oakland, San Francisco, Seattle and Spokane—equaled or exceeded the national average of $1.69 for drivers.

When ranked by population group, average rates descended in order of size of city except for the group of cities with populations of 250,000 to 500,000. Drivers and helpers in these cities had scale levels which exceeded those in cities having from 500,000 to a million people by 7 cents and 2 cents an hour, respectively.

The population of individual cities, however, had no marked influence on the levels of union scales. Among drivers, Chicago and New York ranked fifth and sixth respectively, Philadelphia 21st and Phoenix, which had the highest average scale in the second smallest-sized group, ranked ninth. New York and Butte, the largest and smallest cities included in the study, had almost identical average scales for helpers to rank 17th and 18th, respectively.

By region, average union hourly wage scales ranged from $1.27 for motortruck drivers and $1 for helpers in the Southeast to $1.85 and $1.64, respectively, on the Pacific Coast. The levels in the Middle Atlantic and the Great Lakes regions also exceeded the national averages of $1.69 for drivers and $1.42 for helpers. The Southeast and Southwest were the only regions with average scales below $1.50 an hour for drivers and below $1.25 for helpers.

Changes were slight in the straight-time weekly hours of drivers and helpers between July 1, 1950, and July 1, 1951, and had no effect on the previous year's average of 42 hours. On July 1, 1951, 40 hours or less constituted the straight-time workweek for about seven-tenths of the drivers and helpers studied. A 48-hour work schedule was stipulated for a sixth of the drivers and a fifth of the helpers.

WSB Regulation 20 Provisions Explained

(Continued from page 21)

procedure set forth in Regulation 20. In addition where a general increase in the form of a change in the commission rate has been granted since the base period, no Regulation 20 adjustments in commission earnings may be made without prior Board approval.

The new regulation also deals with drawing accounts, which represent an "advance" on the employee's earnings from commissions, and per unit rates where a specified dollar-and-cents rate is paid per unit sold or per unit of work performed in sales or delivery work. Regulation 20 permits adjustments in both of these categories under certain conditions.

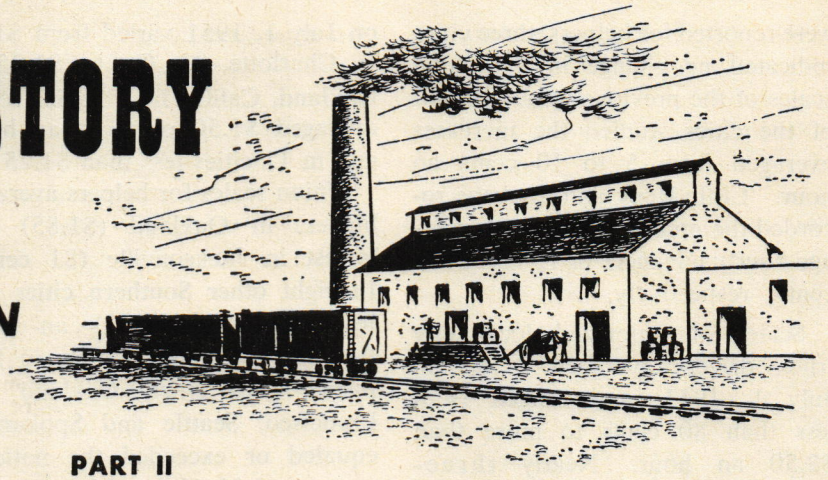
In addition to the self-administering adjustments permissible under Regulation 20, the WSB will entertain petitions for approval of changes in commission rates and for approval of changes in the method of compensation such as a shift from a salary-plus-commission arrangement to a fixed salary alone, or vice-versa.

The Board also will entertain other types of petitions, including those where the parties want to show that the employees have contributed to increases in commission earnings by increased effort, skill or otherwise.

Regulation 20 does not limit increases in commission earnings which are due to increases in sales volume.

the LABOR STORY

. . . INDUSTRIALISM
. . . IMMIGRATION
. . . UNREST



PART II

This is the second of a series of articles in which THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER *is reviewing the history of American Labor. Part II deals with the period of industrialization and the unrest which its impact created. This period extended from 1837 to 1890.*

THE half century following the panic of 1837 was an eventful period both for labor and for the country. Labor was restless and groped for advantage, sometimes following the will o' the wisp of utopian schemes, sometimes being politically practical—and impractical, and other times utilizing economic pressure. This period saw the advent of industrialism and the impact it was destined to make left a permanent imprint on labor and on the nation's economy.

During this period there came to these shores millions of immigrants from the Old World who changed the labor and industrial picture in America. The ten-hour and later the eight-hour movements began as Americans sought to emancipate themselves from the drudgery of long hours and onerous conditions. The period also saw great restlessness translated into bitter strikes and riots and serious upheavals, and as the period drew to a close another one was dawning—a period of permanent national labor union organizations which was to see the beginning of new organization ordained to play an important and growing role in labor and the nation—the American Federation of Labor.

While these changes were taking place in American labor the nation was undergoing change and expansion. Immigration and settlement were pushing the tide of empire westward. As the half century began the young republic had 27 states; by 1890 17 more stars had been added to the flag. The nation had gone through the Mexican War which added territory and prestige. The U. S. had purchased Alaska and added a territory larger than the then U. S. A. The country had been split asunder by a cruel, fratricidal strife, the Civil War. Gold had been discovered in California which led to an overland rush for hoped-for riches. As the period ended the nation saw the closing of the frontier, or at least the ending of much of it with free land and the rapid emergence of big business and industrial expansion. But despite the progress made elsewhere, labor's gains were too few and progress far too niggardly. Labor's greatest days were still ahead—far ahead.

After the country began to recover from the economic setback of the late 1830's, manufacturing picked up. But the nation was to see more and more machinery. Hours of work were long—11½ to 13 hours daily; a 75-hour week was not unusual. The textile mills of New England drew on farm labor, particularly women, who expected to work only a short time and then get married and go back to the country. As machinery was used more and more the old personal relationship between employer and employee seemed forever lost. Efforts were far more impersonal and mechanized.

During this period, beginning in the 1840's immigration from Europe and elsewhere picked up and European girls replaced many native American girls at the looms and weaving machines. Three million immigrants are estimated to have come over between 1836 and 1855. Some attention was distracted when gold was discovered in California in 1849 and an overland rush for riches began, but efforts were made by the working people to chase illusory goals—popular reforms. These reform movements were manifestations of revolt from the hardships which industrialism had wrought. Fourierism, Associationism, and other forms of escape through self-propelled utopias developed. Leading figures supported some of these movements and many of the laboring groups grasped at what they thought were bright new promises of a better life. Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Robert Owen, Charles A. Danawere were a few of the big "names" seeking to win converts among labor to their special forms of utopianism.

Related to social reform was the interest in agrarianism—the importance of the land. Labor also became interested in consumers' and producers' cooperatives and this in-

terest persisted for decades as a major consideration. Reform somehow took the place of old-fashioned labor unionism and as a result there was considerable floundering about on the part of the working people. A basic demand for land reform on the part of the National Reform Association led ultimately to the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862.

But the answer to the long hours was not found in the reform movements and so efforts were made to achieve a ten-hour day and New Hampshire in 1847 was the first state to enact such a law. It was followed by Pennsylvania, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Ohio, California and Georgia. But with the passage of this law which seemed at the time epoch-making, came another development and a legal argument and device which was destined to cancel basic gains and to provide ammunition which is used even today by anti-labor forces.

During this ten-hour day period of reform the device known as a "special contract" was invoked; that is, a worker could sign a contract with a clause which permitted him to work as long as he wished. In other words, the employer used the guise of "protecting" the employee's "right to work," and developed this special contract and also the blacklist to outlaw any worker who refused the special contract provision. Thus the ten-hour limitation was nullified by the "freedom to work



EDITORIAL VOICE—Horace Greeley, one of the great editors of the last century, wrote in behalf of the workingman and called attention to needed reforms in the interest of labor.

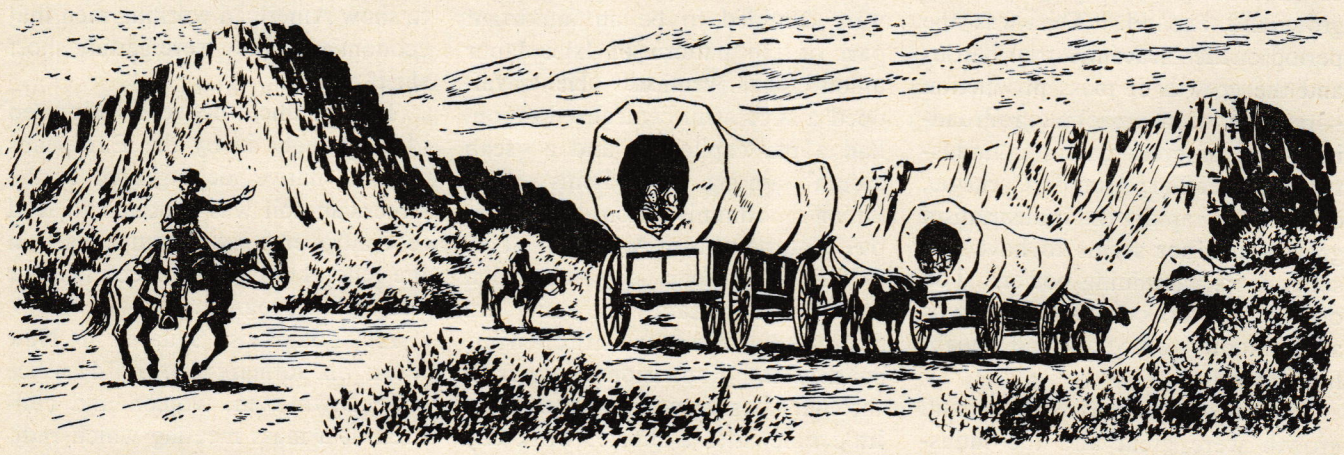
as he saw fit" idea—the precise argument being used today to fight labor progress in the 1950's. This special contract was a vicious gimmick and one of the most important anti-labor developments of the last century.

A series of so-called industrial congresses were held by laboring people, but in most cases politicians moved in and the economic considerations often got lost by the wayside. Finally, labor realized that it should turn to its own problems and quit chasing the will o' the wisp of reform, agrarianism, politics, etc. There developed an attention on the part of skilled labor particularly of the importance of banding together in unions of skilled people. This philosophy foreshadowed the craft movement being utilized today by the American Federation of Labor. The emphasis was on wages, hours, conditions and the closed shop for the skilled workers; there was not a wholehearted concern for labor as a whole. During this period the first really national unions came into being. The National Typographical Union, the National Molders' Union, the Machinists and the Blacksmiths' National Union were formed. Later national unions were organized by the railway engineers, the shoemakers, plumbers, upholsterers, stone-cutters and cotton mule spinners.

In 1860 the most serious strike up to that time took place at Natick and Lynn, Mass., when the shoemakers walked out. Some 20,000 were ultimately on the street and after about two weeks the employers began to come to terms with the workers.

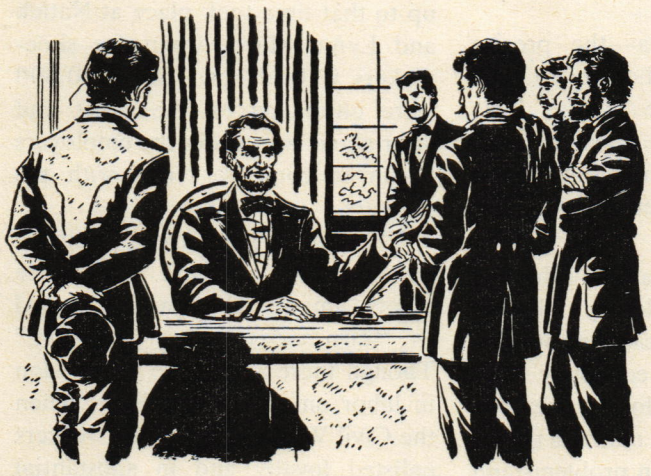
The slavery issue about this time was a torrid one and there were plenty among labor who believed in "concession not secession." Though there seemed to be division in labor on the slavery issue, when the Civil War did break out workers enlisted loyally and in substantial numbers for the Union clause. Men of labor could not buy their way out of war service as could their wealthier colleagues who could pay to have someone serve time in the Army for them.

During the Civil War, as during all wars, living costs rose rapidly and labor did not get its fair share of the increase and soon there were



ON TO CALIFORNIA!—The discovery of gold in California in 1849 led to an overland rush for hoped-for riches. The gold rush was one of the many events in the last half of the 19th century which marked an era of great national expansion.

strikes to enforce economic demands—plumbers, printers, carpenters, ironmolders, shipwrights, locomotive engineers all demanded better wages. President Abraham Lincoln was a friend, labor discovered, and extolled the place of the working man in the nation and his right to strike. He called working men "the basis of all government." Labor strengthened itself during the Civil War. The numbers of unions and enrollments increased. The labor press was strengthened and labor came out of the war revitalized and on the offensive.



LABOR'S FRIEND—President Abraham Lincoln is shown being interviewed by a delegation of working men. Lincoln spoke out in behalf of labor and its right to strike. He called labor the basis of government.

The period following the Civil War was one of ferment and unrest, of prodigious achievements in industry and restlessness on the part of the country in the great effort to grow and expand. This was the period of the great industrial barons and the growth of mass production —petroleum, meatpacking, railroading—and of great names in industry—Rockefeller, Gould, Carnegie, etc. But so rapidly did industrialism grow that labor seems to have lost some of its bargaining power. Too often employers considered labor as a commodity to be sold and bought like chattels.

The needs of expansion and growth were great and the industrialists got Congress to pass a contract labor law whereby immigrants could be brought from Europe under an agreement to work out the expense of their passage. Immigrants came by the tens of thousands and their influx resulted in wage-cutting. Even Chinese coolies were brought into the country. Immigrants had formerly come from Northern Europe and England. The new tide was from Southern and Southeastern Europe.

Wage cuts and lowered standards resulted in real hardships for the working people. Slums developed and labor saw that it would have to organize the workers on a national basis if they were to face the tremendous forces pitted against them with anything like equality. A National Labor Union was formed at the National Labor Congress called in Baltimore and for the first time genuine national labor leadership was developed. The Union was for the eight-hour day, abolition of convict labor, immigration restriction and other reforms.

William H. Sylvis emerged as leader of the Union. He had been head of the Molders and had introduced ideas and procedures which were destined to be an important part of the pattern of later labor union administration. He developed a successful centralized union, had a per capita tax and a "scab album" among other items. The Union's administration foreshadowed later events in American labor.

The eight-hour day campaign was an important one and Ira Steward, a Boston machinist, sparked it. Expansion of markets through sales to workers who had a little time after a shorter work day was an early proposal of the purchasing power theory which was to become popular and accepted in the twentieth century.

The campaign for the eight-hour day, however, encountered the same "special contract" difficulties of the ten-hour day reformers of an earlier period. While labor was becoming more and more conscious of the necessity for working on the economic front, many still had hopes that some measure of progress could be achieved by currency reform. This, too, like the attractive social reforms of the past, proved illusory. Soon the country was to see another depression—the panic of 1873 and labor membership suffered severely. The rumblings of discontent foreshadowed an era of upheaval which was to leave a bloody mark on the history of the period.

Period of Conflict

Strikes, the Tompkins Square riot, the Haymarket Square trouble, the Pittsburgh riot and railway difficulties and many other conflicts characterized a troublesome period for labor. Labor was fundamentally conservative despite some of the aberrations in favor of currency reform and various types of social reform. Labor primarily wanted decent consideration in the way of hours and conditions. Millions of immigrants had come to America and some had tried to introduce socialistic and anarchistic ideas from the Old World. This radical agitation added to discontent, but such propaganda was hardly necessary to show American working men that economically they were getting short shrift.

The conflict between imported ideas brought in by the Europeans and the native ideas geared to the American soil was destined to lead to controversy over many years in the general movement affecting labor and social progress.

At Tompkins Square in New York on January 13, 1874 police rode down men, women and children at a mass meeting which radical agitators were about to take over. The press called the riot

"work of alien radicals" and a young labor figure who barely escaped injury in the riot was to say later that he "saw how professions of radicalism and sensationalism concentrated all the forces of society against a labor movement and nullified in advance normal, necessary activity. I saw that leadership in the labor movement could be safely entrusted only to those into whose hearts and minds had been woven the experience of earning their bread by daily labor. I saw that betterment for workingmen must come primarily through workingmen." That young labor leader was Samuel Gompers, later to help found and to head the American Federation of Labor.

In the anthracite fields was the "long strike" of the miners and the coal-and-iron police went into the area to protect strike-breakers. Into the coal fields came the "Molly Maguires," a secret society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. This group was charged with intimidating the coal operators by threats and by destruction of mine property. Harsh steps were taken to suppress the disorders and the operators were able to get a quisling into the Molly Maguires and instigate trouble in order to make a case against the society. The inside job succeeded and as a result of court action in 1875 some members were sentenced to from two to seven years and ten of the number were hanged.

Rail Strikes

Strikes broke out on the railroads and by 1877 one newspaper was to say the trouble amounted to a "labor revolution." The wave of trouble was punctuated by violence, an example of which occurred at Martinsburg, W. Va., where the militia failed to restore peace and Federal troops had to be summoned. Twenty-five persons were killed in troubles at Pittsburgh which resulted in rioting, looting and property destruction amounting to, some estimates say, $5 million.

Grievances of the workers were nearly always overlooked by the press which saw in any difficulty, regardless of the type or extent of provocation, a danger to vested interests. The Pittsburgh mob, said a New York paper, was "a wild beast and needs to be shot down." Troubles in Chicago were headlined "Chicago in the Possession of Communists."

Bitter repression in 1877 struck at labor through efforts to stifle unionism and to demand anti-union contracts. The repression taught labor that it must organize and effect a measure of responsibility and prevent labor troubles from developing into uncontrollable mob fury. But the foreigners who had come over had imported not only their skill and strength but their ideas which they were persistent in trying to spread. These agitators were not representative of the American workingman but they helped give him a black eye in public opinion.

Most famous in this period was the Haymarket Square affair in 1886 in Chicago. A mass protest meeting was called for May 4 following a clash between strikers and scabs at the McCormick Harvester plant. The meeting itself was to be addressed by some of the radical spellbinders. The meeting had almost broken up when a 200-man police detachment arrived to disperse the remaining people. Someone tossed a bomb into the police killing one of the officers. In the fight which followed seven police were killed, four workers met death and some 50 were injured.

Public Aroused

Public opinion became inflamed by the bomb incident and in the legal action which followed seven were sentenced to death and another to 15 years in prison. Although there was no evidence tying them to the bombing, public opinion was so aroused against the anarchists that someone had to be pilloried. The sentence of two of the condemned men was commuted to life imprisonment and six years later Governor John Peter Altgeld pardoned these together with the man given a long term on the grounds that the men had not been given a fair trial. This action, later to be recognized as just, brought down the wrath of the general public on Governor Altgeld and many never forgave him. So conservative an institution as the University of Illinois College of Law a few years ago changed the name of the main law building to "Altgeld Hall." Time in more ways than one has vindicated the action of the courageous governor.

During much of this whole period



FROM OVERSEAS—The tide of immigration from the Old World was one of the most significant developments of the last century. Labor was seriously affected by the workers who came to man the factories, work on railroads, and take every type of laboring job available.

of unrest, dating from 1869, another facet of the labor movement was developing—the Knights of Labor. Nine tailors founded the Knights in an effort to achieve labor solidarity and the advancement of the workingmen's ends. Efforts were made to embrace all the sons of toil. The Knights opened their rolls to all workers, but maintained their elaborate rule of secrecy for years. The Catholic Church frowned on the secrecy and general distrust impeded progress. Uriah S. Stephens was the first Grand Master Workman and his previous religious career as a Baptist clergyman influenced the general founding and procedures. A young machinist, Terrence V. Powderly, succeeded Stephens and as a good Catholic layman, he understood his church's distrust and worked for easing the required secrecy provisions. He was able to lift the ban of the religious groups and membership boomed under the new program.

On the agenda of the Knights of Labor were such goals as cooperatives, fiat currency, the eight-hour day, abolition of the prison contract system, abolition of child labor, establishment of a bureau of labor statistics. The Knights of Labor wanted to remain industrial rather than political—it was a somewhat vague program but it apparently had wide appeal. Powderly did not relish strikes or sharp economic conflicts, but the hard times of the 80's brought on railroad difficulties. Most famous among the strikes was that against Jay Gould's Wabash System. He was forced to come to terms and the public saw the great Gould negotiating with labor leaders, a spectacle which astonished the country, particularly newspaper editorial writers.

Success in winning strikes boomed the membership; it rose from 100,000 in mid-1885 to 700,000 in the following year. The Knights of Labor were on the march. But Powderly proved to be not a strong enough leader to handle the tough, exacting responsibilities of so vast an organization in a turbulent period. Management struck back and the Goulds had the last laugh when they were able to break strikes and undermine support of the Knights of Labor. Weak leadership forecast a rapid decline. Interest in co-ops rather than in the economic ends of labor contributed to the downfall.

About this time skilled workers were becoming interested in an organization which would recognize their skills, needs and special requirements. This desire was to be solidified in the next era in the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of one of the greatest figures in American labor history—Samuel Gompers.

Commissioner Rogers Will Leave ICC Post

John L. Rogers will end thirty-five years of duty with the Interstate Commerce Commission on April 30.

For fifteen years, Mr. Rogers served as a member of the commission. He was chairman in 1945 and again this year under the commission's rotating chairmanship system.

The Commissioner told President Truman in a letter of resignation that his decision was made on the "urgent advice" of his physician. Mr. Rogers, a native of Knoxville, will be 63 this year.

He became a mechanical engineer in the ICC service in 1917 while still a student at the University of Tennessee. After moving from Knoxville to Washington, Mr. Rogers continued his engineering studies at George Washington University and later received a law degree from National University by attending night classes.

Mr. Rogers is a member of ICC divisions which handle financial matters and deal with motor carrier applications for operating authorities.

"Rehearsal for Disaster" Shows Trucks' Flood Role

"Rehearsal for Disaster" is the title of a 36-page illustrated booklet on the role of motor transport in the 1951 mid-west floods which struck Kansas and Missouri.

The booklet is an effort to show the importance of trucks and trucking in all stages of the flood disaster last year. Topics told in pictures and text include "The Flood"; "Evacuation"; "Emergency Aid"; "The Relief Task"; "The Trucks Keep Rolling"; "Rehabilitation and Cleanup," and "The Rehearse."

The booklet is geared not only to demonstrate the importance of trucks in an actual disaster which struck at a large area, but to show that in event of a civil defense disaster, trucks can play a tremendously important role. The publication is prepared by the American Trucking Associations.

Shishkin Named to Panel of Atomic Energy Group

An Atomic Plant Expansion Advisory Panel has recently been created to advise the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of Congress concerning various phases of labor relations in the new atomic plant construction program. Representatives from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are members of the panel.

The labor members are Boris B. Shishkin, AFL economist and James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO Electrical Workers. Lewis L. Strauss, former member of the Atomic Energy Commission is panel chairman.

Other members include Ralph A. Bard, former Undersecretary of the Navy; Dr. Karl Compton, former chairman of the Research and Development Board; Roy T. Hurley, president, Curtiss-Wright Corporation, and Ralph W. M. McGill, editor, *The Atlanta Constitution.*

Aluminum, Light-Weight New Baggage Trailer

Ideal for moving heavy loads with minimum effort and manpower is a new 450 lb. aluminum baggage trailer. Easy loading is made possible by the light-weight gates which swing upward and the unit can be towed at 25 to 30 mph over rough terrain. Caster shimmy and spin are entirely eliminated, it is claimed, and since the trailer is entirely aluminum no painting or other maintenance is required for upkeep.

•

Improved Design for Solvent-Vapor Degreaser

Many advantages are claimed for the new and improved hand-operated, solvent-vapor degreaser. Since the storage tank is integral with the main body of the unit the inside work space is cleared of all projections, including the solvent collection trough, the condensing coils and the vapor level control blub.

•

Newly-Designed Gage For Piston-Locating

A new piston-locating gage indicates the proper positioning of pistons for clearance and has been calibrated to a wide range of passenger cars. The device also indicates when both valves are closed, completely sealing the combustion chamber.

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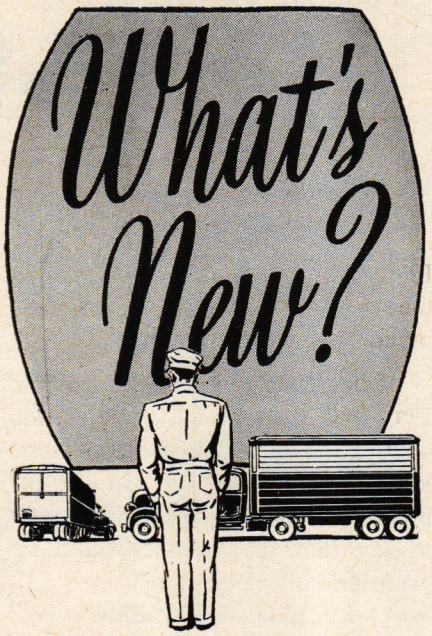
Tire Designed for Tough, Rocky Areas

A new truck tire made for semi-drop center rims has been especially designed for graders operating where there is considerable rock or under especially tough conditions. Figures based on a maximum speed of 25 mph give the maximum rated load for the tires as 6,600 lb. inflated to 50 lb. pressure, with 426 revolutions per mile. The tire fits rim size 800T, has a cross section of 13.2 in. with an outside diameter of 50.8.

•

Complete Kit for Block Repairing

For repairing cracked blocks and all types of castings, a new service kit has been offered on the market which is said to contain every tool and material needed, including all four sizes of the new plug that is said to make your repair part of the block. These plugs are made of motor-block iron which expands and contracts at the same rate as the block. Included in the kit along with complete sets of ground taps and rotary files, are a bantam air hammer for trimming and peening, the drill jig, reamer, facer and oversize valve seats.



Foot Warmer Made Of Rubber Compound

A foot warmer consisting of special metallic resistance embedded in reversible, ribbed neoprene rubber compound provides warm-foot comfort for persons who must stand or sit where heat is insufficient, dangerous or impossible to obtain. The unit can be plugged into any 110-120 v. outlet.

•

Painting and Drying Possible in Same Booth

A 9 ft. extension separated from the painting compartment by folding doors permits the painting and drying of cars in the same booth, a New York manufacturer claims.

This extension housing contains the baking, infrared oven while the car is being sprayed after which the fumes are drawn out of the booth by an exhaust fan in the ceiling. The doors are then folded back and with the pressing of a button the baking unit moves out of the housing and over the car. The air in the booth is filtered.

•

Delicate Micrometer Has Rounded Anvil

Bearings, tubing and cylinders having walls up to 1 in. thick and any diameter down to ⅝ in. can be accurately measured with a newly introduced micrometer in thousandths of an inch. This minute degree of accuracy is made possible by the fact that the anvil contact of the instrument is rounded and curved surfaces offer no problem; a simple sleeve adjustment is claimed by the maker to maintain this accuracy. Another valuable feature is the fact that a complete table of decimal equivalents is stamped on the thimble of the micrometer.

Widely Adjustable Thread Restorer

With a new hand thread chaser it is no longer necessary to machine such parts as axle housings or shafts, bearing cages, couplings and pipes for it is adjustable to any diameter from 1¼ to 5 in. The instrument, the product of a Minnesota manufacturer, also comes equipped with six chaser dies which carry 16 thread pitches.

•

Cleaning Unit With Built-in Solvent

A handy parts cleaner is now available which features a hollow handle brush attached to a pump with a tube, which produces a steady flow of clear solvent at the end of the bristles. This bench type cleaner with the fountain brush action cleans parts on the large screened platform which captures the dirt that is removed while small particles of grit, chip, etc., passing through the screen, are retained by a baffle or second filter screen at the pump intake.

•

Reflector Flares With One-half Mile Visibility

A Syracuse, N. Y. manufacturer has recently marketed a new type of emergency reflector flares which they claim offer greater protection in being visible ½ mile both from the front and the rear. Tipping and skidding are prevented by the sharp-edged legs which grip the ground and they are available both separately and in complete kits for passenger as well as commercial use.

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No Scraping With Anti-Rust Paint

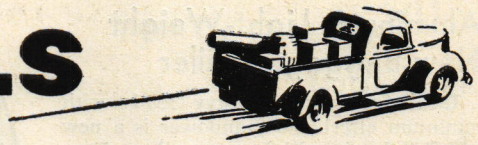
A new type of anti-rust paint now available is said to penetrate through any rust layer and effectively seal the surface against further deteriorating action. Since it is claimed that it can be applied directly over the rusty surface, no wire-brushing, scraping or sand-blasting is necessary. Suitable for both interior and exterior use on old or new metal, the paint is available in black, aluminum and clear.

•

Safety and Comfort From Tinted Glass

Adding to both safety and comfort while on the highway is a greenish tinted safety glass which is said to reduce heat and glare while permitting the passage of a full measure of daylight or artificial light. While transmitting 72 to 74 per cent of daylight as compared with the 70 per cent specified by the American Standards Association, the tinted glass absorbs most of the solar infrared and ultraviolet rays.

SHORT HAULS



Vets of World War II Prove Good Credit Risks

World War II veterans have already repaid in full about $1.5 billion in GI loans for homes, farms and businesses since the GI loan program went into effect nearly eight years ago, the Veterans Administration reported recently.

Farm loans led the list in repayments with 25,672 repaid in full or 41 per cent of those made. Business loans were second with a 38 per cent repayment record or 65,348 out of 173,262 repaid.

The farm and business loans are for relatively short periods and the repayment would be normally repaid, said the VA, while loans on homes are usually for extended periods. A total of 9 per cent or 238,729 loans on homes out of 2,602,069 have been repaid.

The VA also reported that only eight-tenths of 1 per cent of all loans closed have been defaulted to the point where the VA had to pay claims on the Government guarantee. In these defaulted loans the ratios are: one-half of 1 per cent on home loans; 2.5 per cent on farm loans and 5 per cent on business loans.

Open Up Hauling at Atomic Project Near Denver, Colo.

While all is secret about what goes on around most Atomic Energy Commission installations, some indications of importance often is revealed by necessary public transportation notices. Such is the case in the case of the AEC works near Marshall, Colo.

The services of at least 22 large motor carriers will be required around this installation, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission. A field official of the ICC has recommended 21 grants of operating authorities to serve the atomic plant in connection with services to and from Denver, Colo. One carrier is already servicing the area.

A representative of the Atomic Energy Commission supported the applications of each of the carriers, but declined to give any detailed information on the project other than to say that the volume would be "substantial."

Turnpike Traffic Tops Estimates of Forecasters

The travel volume over the newly opened New Jersey Turnpike may be five years ahead of estimates, according to early studies.

Traffic checks thus far indicate that the pike will be used by 13,372,000 vehicles which will be only 300,000 short of the figure set for 1957. The traffic studies were based on winter traffic and observers believed that with spring and summer vacation travel added to the growing volume the original estimates may prove far shorter than present projections indicate.

The extraordinary volume may be bringing additional headaches to the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, but it is also bringing additional revenue. The greatly increased travel volume will advance the toll take by more than $2 million, turnpike officials say.

Briefs Submitted This Month in Explosives Case

Briefs are to be submitted by April 7 to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the explosives hearing case (MC-200 and MC-35628). Hearings were completed in March which had begun last fall.

Application had been made for permanent authority to transport explosives by motor transport. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters supported the application for authority before the ICC.

Presiding over the hearings during the long period of time over which the proceedings extended was Examiner B. E. Stilwell.

Crude Petroleum Going Up in Canadian Area

Production of crude petroleum in Canada is going up, according to late reports from official sources.

Production of crude petroleum and natural gasoline advanced 29 per cent in November over the same month for 1950, according to latest available figures. Figures for the first 11 months of 1951 showed a pronounced rise over output for the same period in 1950. In this 11-month period in 1951 more than 44 million barrels were produced as against 26.5 million for the same period in 1950.

Truckers Ask Surcharge To Cover N. Y. Road Tax

The New York state ton-mile tax has resulted in a request on the part of motor truckers for permission to add a surcharge on freight rates through New York state to off-set the new tax.

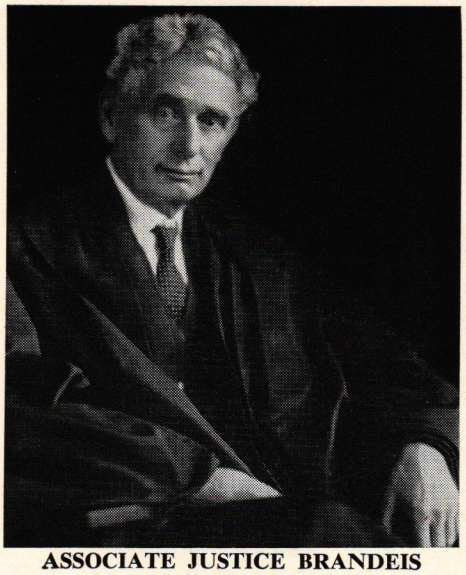
Constitutionality of the new ton-mile tax is now being tested. In the meantime, trucking groups in New York have told the Interstate Commerce Commission that a surcharge will be necessary in order to prevent financial disaster to operators in the face of the new tax.

The requested surcharge would be from one-half cent to 3.5 cents per 100 pounds depending on the distance travelled in New York state.

"The more you raise the condition of the worker... the more you will require the union for collective bargaining in order to produce the desired results."

Selected quotes from a speech by the late Louis D. Brandeis, Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court, 1916-1939.

IN 1802 the first factory act was passed (in England), limiting the employment of children in the textile mills. There is hardly an economic or social argument now urged against minimum-wage laws which you cannot find raised against that act in the parliamentary debates and in the contemporary literature of England. Yet the condition was then this: Children of five or six years, and in some instances even children of four, were at work in the textile mills from 15 to 16 hours a day. It took 25 years to raise the age-limit for children to nine years. Some people thought that when the first child-labor laws were enacted everything had been done that was necessary to protect the state against the degeneration of the race. Others recognized then that such legislation was inadequate; that the mothers needed protection as much as the children. But British conservatism, exercised in the interest of manufacturers at the time, would not permit the extension of protective legislation to women workers. It took 45 years for England to learn that it was not enough to protect the mothers of the children. And when England began to protect the mothers, Parliament thought it was taking a bold step when it gradually reduced the working-time to 12 hours. Later it was reduced to 11¼; and finally it was reduced to nine hours, in many trades to eight hours. And then experience taught that merely to reduce the hours of labor was not enough, but that it was necessary to provide by law a lunch hour, and to prohibit continuous employment without rest for more than five or six hours.



ASSOCIATE JUSTICE BRANDEIS

While these limitations were being imposed upon the working hours of women and children, it was found necessary to restrict even further the liberty of contract. Laws were enacted next in regard to dangerous trades. Then, recognizing that trades may be dangerous not only to life and limb but to health, it was soon found that any trade may become dangerous under certain conditions. In consequence laws were enacted to secure proper construction, sanitation, and ventilation of factories and workshops. Finally, finding still other evils to be combated, legislatures now enter upon the broad field of social insurance.

It seems to me there has never been any advanced legislation regarding the condition of labor, regarding the condition of citizens, where the calamity howl has not met every step.

We had it in Massachusetts, when we undertook to limit the hours of labor of women in the Seventies. Not only was it loud but it was persisted in after the legislation passed. An elaborate investigation was made, and it was found that not only had the shortened hours not decreased wages, but wages had increased on shortened hours; that our percentage of business had increased, and that Massachusetts' position in the cotton industry (as compared with longer hours in surrounding states) was better after years of restriction than it had been at the time the statute was enacted.

And every time we undertake to do anything to protect women and to protect the workers in an industry, there is this terrible apprehension on the part of those who are to be affected. Its passage is due to the persistence of the community, and because experience has proved the apprehensions groundless.

There isn't any such thing as a law of supply and demand as an inexorable rule. It is an economic tendency, a highly important one and one of the most important of the economic forces; but all the time we see that there are conditions under which the law of supply and demand does not work.

I think it will be found, in talking with men, that halftruths expressed in such words as "liberty of contract" and "law of supply and demand," which businessmen use but have not thought out, are probably the most important sources of their objections to factory legislation.

As regards labor leaders, I think many of them fear that there will be removed the incentive to belong to the union if you protect the worker otherwise. I do not believe that is so because I feel that whatever limitations the law places you will always have a sufficient area for effort in which the union as the instrument of collective bargaining will be required. The more you raise the condition of the worker—so long as we have inequality in position between a powerful employer and a single individual—the more you will require the union for collective bargaining in order to produce the desired results.

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